

Non-Co-operation

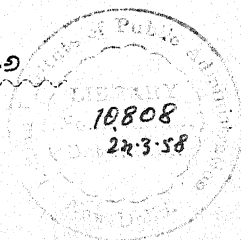
(FOUR LECTURES)

BIPIN CHANDRA PAL

IIPA LIBRARY



10808



PUBLISHED BY
SAMARENDRA KUMAR NAG,

THE
INDIAN BOOK CLUB.
College Street Market, Calcutta.

1920

PRINTED BY K. C. BOSE,
AT THE STANDARD DRUG PRESS,
45, Amherst Street, CALCUTTA.

The Present Situation

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO NON-CO-OPERATION.



Mr. Chairman and friends : I do not know if you have noticed it in the papers that I have not been at all in good health for the last three weeks or so. That prevented me from being with you at the meeting held immediately after the news of Mr. Tilak's passing-away reached Calcutta, on Monday the 2nd instant. Since then I have practically been confined to my bed and it was almost a heroic effort on my part that led me to the Beadon Square Memorial Meeting on Monday last. Since then I have picked up a little strength, but still under other circumstances I would not have ventured to address a Calcutta audience in the present state of my health. But the subject is of supreme importance and more than that, rumours have been current in many quarters that while the Punjab has declared itself in favour of the principle of Non-Co-operation, while Behar has declared itself in favour of it, while Madras after a prolonged discussion, I understand, has at last thrown its lot on the side of this Non-Co-operation movement, while the United Provinces have also accepted the principle of Non-Co-operation (applause), Bengal, the birth-place of Swadeshi, Bengal, which tried

for the first time in the history of our present struggle for national emancipation, the weapon of passive resistance, Bengal, whose young men in their hundreds and thousands have given the price of their fidelity to this principle of Non-Co-operation (applause), Bengal is not likely to go along with the other Provinces in the Congress that is coming next month, in this matter. These rumours impelled me, inspite of the very indifferent condition of my health just now, to take the risk—if risk at all it be—to appear before you and to present to you, so far as I can, the whole question of Non-Co-operation whether for or against.

SIGNIFICANCE OF "NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT."

Now, gentlemen, I will at once tell you that personally I have watched this movement with the greatest interest. I have studied this movement from various points of view, and I may tell you that as the result of long thought and study—whatever may be the worth of my thought and study—I have personally come to the conviction that Non-Co-operation is our last chance (applause) for winning, if it pleases God, our national freedom (applause). And I will tell you why. With a view to understand the significance of this, we must consider calmly from all sides of view, without partiality and without prejudice, without rash generalisation and without timid reservation, the actualities before us. What are the actualities before you? Where do you stand to-day?

The great and fundamental fact of British domination in this country has been brought home to us

—most cruelly it must be said, but I am thankful for the light—in last year's Punjab affairs. What is the meaning of it? What was the meaning of the Punjab atrocities? What was the meaning of the declaration of martial law after having concocted a story of open rebellion in the Punjab? (cries of shame, shame) what is the meaning of the Report of the Hunter Committee, I mean the Majority Report? What is the meaning of the Government of India's Despatch on that Report? What is the meaning of the considered opinion of the present Coalition Cabinet with regard to that Report and the incidents of last year? What, finally, is the meaning of the debate in both Houses of Parliament, not on the Punjab atrocities, not on the policy of martial law administration, which was deliberately shunted away by both officials and non officials (cries of shame), but on a petty, insignificant, contemptible incident in that affair, namely, the atrocities committed by General Dyer? I have nothing to say against General Dyer. I have no complaint to make against what he did. That had to be done to maintain the foundation of British rule in India as it has been conceived by the present British Bureaucracy here and the Cabinet over there in England (applause). What is the foundation of that rule? Physical domination. We must get rid of our ancient delusions. These are not times for cherishing pleasant illusions. We must get rid of the illusions that have been bred in us by the teaching of British historians and the utterances of British statesmen and politicians. The real, patent, cruel,

solid truth about it is that British domination in India means government by an army of occupation. (Cries of hear, hear). Is not that a fact? The Punjab says it is. The Government of India's Despatch says it is. The Hunter Committee's Report says it is. The Cabinet's considered opinion upon the Hunter Committee's Report declared it to be so. The House of Commons debate and the House of Lords debate showed that the foundation of British rule in India is the military power, the brute force, the superior organisation and the improved methods of murder (cries of shame) which our rulers command. Please do not cry shame. Take these things into your heart, consider what these things mean now and for your future and then approach the problem before you. It is military domination. It was covered up all these years, genuinely covered, benevolently concealed, for our good and for their benefit. But the fact has been brought out by the Punjab episode and the things that have followed that episode.

BENGAL AND THE PUNJAB.

It is not, however really a revelation to some of us, Extremist thinkers and politicians. We knew it all along. We had seen a glimpse of it during the Swadeshi agitation in Bengal. It did not come out in all its naked cruelty in Bengal because of the different training, the different mentality, the different moral atmosphere of your province. It did not come out in that cruel nakedness in Bengal.

Why, I will tell you. Because of the preaching of Surendra Nath Banerjea in the early and unregenerate stage of his public life. Let us not forget it in these days. Because of the inspiration which Surendra Nath Banerjea brought to us from the history of the struggle for independence in America, from the history of the Shikhs and the Mahrattas, from the life of Mazzinni and Garibaldi, from the struggle for national emancipation in Ireland under Thomas and Davis and Duffy in the early years of the last century, and from other historical sources. Because of these historical inspirations and the spirit of political freedom awakened in Bengal, Bengal refused to kowtow to the officials. Bengal never bent low to make obeisance to every "topiwallah" that passed along the streets of Calcutta or any other city. Bengal never encouraged her leaders at any time to pay reverence to the "huzoors." Bengal met the Englishman—official and non-official—face to face as equal to equal. Because of that mentality, that moral atmosphere for which—I repeat again—we are indebted to the early teachings and inspiration of Surendra Nath Banerjee (applause)—on account of those things, the things that were done in the Punjab were impossible to be attempted in Bengal. We all know that there was talk of martial law and no damned nonsense—but they dared not apply it in Bengal. Because the cowardly Bengali—Lepel Gritfin's grasshopper Bengali—though he had never shouldered arms, had cultivated a mind and a heart, a courage and a spirit of self assertion and opposition to injustice and oppression which

would not stand all that nonsense about martial law,—General Dyer or no General Dyer, bombing aeroplanes or no bombing aeroplanes. Therefore, what was done in the Punjab could not be done in Bengal. But the spirit was here, the idea was here, the desire was here ; martial law and no damned nonsense, that was the cry fifteen years ago in Bengal, but it did not materialise here somehow or other. Therefore I say we knew it. It was really no new revelation to us in Bengal that the foundation of British rule had been laid upon the physical domination, the superior military organisation, the improved weapons of warfare at the command of our masters.

But all this time we were thinking that, after all, they have not the necessary man-power to terrorise over Bengal or over India. They are a handful of men, have a small bit of territory, the United Kingdom, and their man-power is contemptible compared to the possibilities of man-power in India. That was our hope. The inference from this was that the British ruled in this country really not by superior physical force but through the passive acquiescence of the people of the country to their rule. That was the secret of it. We had seen it years and years ago. And Prof. Seeley has put it on record that if the people of India made up their minds to shake off this domination, they could do so without wasting an ounce of powder or a dozen shots. I don't quote him exactly, but that is the substance of what he said in his "Expansion of England." If India wishes it, if India wills it, by an effort of the national will

she can get rid of the domination of the British. We thought "all right, everybody has his day, let these people also have their day, but when India will awaken, when India will will it to be so, it will come of itself." That was, Mr. Chairman, how we felt and thought fifteen years ago. That was how we felt and thought ten years ago. That was how many of us felt and thought five years ago. That is what some of us may still be thinking and feeling. That was what I personally thought six months or a year back. But we cannot think in that way to-day, and what is the reason? The reason is this. The man-power of England is not able to cope with the requirements of physical domination over so extensive a country. That cannot be gainsaid by any one. The man-power of India has been used against Indian freedom hitherto. The Sikhs, the Pathans, the Gurkhas are our men. They have been used by the British for the subjugation of the people of India. They are used still for putting down inconvenient movements among the Indian people. But there has been a new awakening in these quarters.

A NEW AWAKENING IN THE MARTIAL RACES.

I do not think that after what happened last year in the Punjab there is much prospect of fruitful and safe recruiting there. I do not think that after the dismemberment of Turkey any British politician will dare to enlist in large numbers the Pathans from our frontier regions. The two great sources of recruitment are practically closed. The Government know it and they have therefore

been entering into friendly relationship with Nepal and have commenced to pay six lakhs, I think, a year, no my friend says they have promised to pay ten lakhs a year—to the Nepal Durbar for the privilege of exploiting the military possibilities of the Nepalese population in the interest of the preservation of peace and order in British India (laughter). But will it do ? If this is the situation, I would say, “ let us all go to sleep, because what has happened among Shikhs and Mahomedans, cannot take long to happen to Nepal and the Gurkhas also. Because the spirit of freedom, the spirit of national-self-respect and national self-assertion is abroad and it is a dangerous thing. It first awakens in the heart of a few individuals and from them the fire spreads from man to man until one whole province is a conflagration—not physical but moral—and it spreads from one province to another. Fifteen years ago the whole of India practically held back from the advanced political activities of Bengal. Fifteen years ago at the Congress of 1906, Bengal stood up for Non-Co-operation, or Boycott as we used to call it. Those of you who were present then will remember that when we proposed a boycott resolution in the Congress of 1906 and I put what was described as a sinister interpretation upon the words “ boycott movement ” in that resolution, there was trembling, there was consternation, among the spokesmen and leaders of the other Indian Provinces. They stood up one after another to drop it as a hot potato (laughter). ”

But what is the case to-day? The Punjab which would

not touch our boycott has taken up non-co-operation. As regards the United Provinces, my friends told me, in 1906—"it is all very well for you to talk of these things, but we have not been able to forget the memories of the Mutiny and have no desire to say or do the things you say and do." But the United Provinces to-day have forgotten or got rid of the memories of the Mutiny. This is the situation to-day. And generalising from these things it can be safely said that the things that have happened to the mentality of the Punjabi and to the mentality of the Pathan, will not take so very long to happen to the mentality of the worshipper of Durga and Kali in Nepal (applause). What then ? The situation is very hopeful—you think. It may so seem to you. It would have been hopeful if the war had not turned the world topsy turvy and if the Military Imperialism of Great Britain had not established itself over very extensive territories in the African Continent. That is what you have to consider very carefully. What will it mean to the future of India ? I do not refer to Mesopotamia, because though they have sat down to eat Mesopotamia we do not know whether they will be able to digest it (laughter). They have hardly been able to put it in their mouth as yet. They have only been looking longingly on Mesopotamia (laughter). They are playing with the Arab chiefs. Mesopotamia is at present in an unsettled state. Therefore, I do not refer to Mesopotamia. I think it will take a very long time to bring Mesopotamia under complete control and to be able to exploit, whatever little man-power there

may be in Mesopot and Arabia, to exploit it in the interest of peace, order and good government in discontented India (laughter). I do not count Mesopotamia but I do count the African hordes. Some of you may remember that in the midst of this war, when there was a discussion concerning the German possessions in Africa some one,—I think General Smuts—if my memory does not mislead me—made a significant pronouncement. In the course of that speech General Smuts said that under no circumstances could they allow the Germans to take back any part of their possessions in Africa if they could be conquered. And the reason was significant. General Smuts said, if they allowed Germany to be in possession of Africa the result would be this, namely, that Germany would organise, would educate, would train and would equip the vast man-power of that continent, and this huge leviathan would be launched against Great Britain and other Powers of Europe." The possibility of Germany organising, educating, training and equipping in the most advanced modern standard the black population of Africa, was considered as a serious menace to the future and freedom of modern civilisation. That is what Germany might have done. But Germany is out of the play altogether, the British, have come to the inheritance of the Germans. The Military Imperialism of Great Britain has succeeded the Military Imperialism of Germany. But is there any reason to think that what Germany if she was in possession of Africa, might have done in regard to the unexploited

and immense man-power of that country, Great-Britain is incapable of doing ? Is there any reason to think that Great Britain will not do exactly the same thing that General Smuts said Germany was bound to do in Africa. Is there any doubt about it ? Great Britain has been doing every thing that the Germans had been doing before. In economics they are following the German economic policy i. e. state socialism combined with private capitalist enterprise. State partnership with private capitalist combines—that was the old German policy. This is the new British policy. Great Britain has profited very much by the experience of Germany, and she is following in a more civilised way, in a more humanitarian way, with larger, broader and more liberal objects in view (laughter) in the footsteps of German Military Imperialism. You know it is stated in your scriptures that God can be attained in two ways, by love and by hate (laughter) and the British are attaining the spirit of Germany by their hatred of Germany (cries of hear hear). They are imbibing it, there is no denying this fact. Germany was condemned for setting up an apotheosis of Might. The "Englishman" said a few months ago that Might is Right. Germany was condemned for the declaration of the principle that Might is Right. But there is a difference between this German principle and the British principle. The difference is that Might is Right not in itself but by the object to which it is applied (laughter) and because we apply our Might for the elevation of brother man for the uplift.

of downtrodden races, therefore it is right with us and not right with them (laughter).

I want to ask you therefore is there any reason to hope that Great Britain will not do in Africa what Germany, General Smuts said, Germany proposed to do there.

THE NEW MENACE.

I do not see it. I do not believe that the Military Imperialism of Great Britain will hesitate for a moment to adopt the same policy and pursue the same objects as the Germans wanted to. In fact, in view of the prospects of recruitment in India, it will be forced upon British Military Imperialism. And the question is, what will it mean to you and me? These African mercenaries will be able to replace our Indian mercenaries and they will enable future General Dyers to bring in the African Kafri soldier to meet inconvenient situations in different Provinces in India. What will you do then? It will be pure physical might, because Africa has got sufficient population to supply the British with an army of occupation which will be a real army of occupation. This, gentlemen, is the situation as I understand it, and it will take—that is my next point—just ten years for the British to organise, to educate to train and equip the African hordes, and these ten years are the utmost limit of the life of your struggle for freedom. After these ten years, if you cannot attain your freedom in the meantime, where will you be?

OUR IDEAL.

By freedom I do not mean or understand a paper constitution, what was described as responsible government in the Announcement of August 20th, 1917. By freedom I do not mean any change, however radical it may be, in the Legislative or the Executive. By freedom I mean the absolute right of my people to organise, to control and to direct the defences of their country (applause). That is the backbone of all policies. By freedom I mean the right of the people of India to organise the man-power of their country under their own control, under their own direction, under their own officership, or under officers imported from other countries who will be subject to the orders of the people's own Government (applause and cries of hear, hear). By freedom I understand the control of the Military. By freedom I understand the control of the National Navy. By freedom I understand the control of National Air Force. By freedom I understand unrestricted opportunities for scientific research and inventions with a view to cope with the advanced researches and inventions of other nations of the world in the matter of economic development and military defence (cries of hear, hear).

THE M.-C. REFORMS.

You have not got these rights, and the Montagu-Chelmsford Report does not contemplate the transfer of these rights to you. It is not in the Announcement. That Announcement promised the

increased association of Indians with every branch of the administration. This, they are doing. The latest news is evidence of this. Sriyut Satyendra Prasanna Sinha—I hope he will take no offence (laughter)—Non-Co-operation in the first stage, according to Mr. Gandhi, is renunciation of titles and honorary offices. I have no title to give up. You have none (laughter). We can do one thing. We will not recognise these titles (laughter). In the two news papers under my control, I do not recognise these titles. If you open to-day's "Independent," you will find Mr. Narayan Chandavarkar not Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Dr. P. C. Roy not Sir P. C. Roy, Mr. Ashutosh Chaudhuri not Sir Ashutosh Choudhuri. They are dearer to me as Sriyuts and Babus (Applause) than as lords and lordlings (Applause). Now the highest point in the increasing association of Indians with every branch of the administration is reached in the proposed appointment—it has been unofficially declared—of Satyendra Prasanna Sinha to be the first Governor of Behar. Some of my friends are in high glee at it. They say that we are going back to the days of Akbar (laughter). Are you willing to go back to the days of Akbar (cries of—no)? What are you out for? A benevolent despotism Moslem or Hindu? Are you likely to be satisfied even by the reincarnation of Sri Ram Chandra as the King of India (cries of no no)? Thank you. We are out for the freedom of the individual citizen in India, we are out for the new democracy of India, we are out for national freedom, we are out for the ideal govern-

ment in which every adult member of the population male and female will have a voice in the making of laws and in the control of the Executive. Akbar is too old for me (laughter). Sri Ram Chandra, I honour him, but he also would not suit the twentieth century in Calcutta or India. I want that whoever may rule me will be subject to my control. I want that whoever controls the State in my country shall be obedient to the will of my people (applause). Akbar employed Todarmull, Moslems employed many Hindus, the British have done it rather late in the day, but this will not satisfy us.

THE CONTROL OF THE MILITARY.

The Announcement of August 20th, 1917, did not touch the fundamental problem of our military affairs. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report on page 204—If I remember aright—distinctly says,—paragraph 323, discussing the Civil Service, that it would hardly be consistent with the self-respect of Indians to find the last remnant of their British connection in the military defence of India, in Englishmen defending their borders. Who said that we wanted Englishmen to defend our borders? (laughter) We never wanted it. We never wanted that we should carry on the civil administration and that British Tommies should fight our battles on the frontier. The world has never known of such an incongruity. He who fights is he who rules. Mr. Fred Smith now Lord—
 • I forget these names as they jump so suddenly from

[15]
the Lower House to the Upper House (a voice, Lord Birkenhead)—now Lord Birkenhead—it is a long jump from Fred Smith to Lord Birkenhead—when he was the Right Hon'ble Fred, E. Smith, speaking on the Women's Franchise Bill, laid down that the old principle was no representation no taxation: but the new principle is no fighting to defend the country, no vote. I think that this is the saner principle of the two. We do not want the hideous incongruity that England should defend our borders and that we should rule the country. As I have said the Montagu-Chelmsford Report did not contemplate the transfer of military control. The Montagu Chelmsford Act does not provide it.

What is the military situation to-day? Have you noticed it that in the course of a few days a new Bill will be brought before the Imperial Legislative Council, the Indian Auxiliary Forces Bill. Have you noticed that in this Bill the old volunteer system under which Indians were excluded will be practically reintroduced in a better form in India? Have you noticed it that the "Englishman" and other respectable organs of Anglo Indian opinion in this country, discussing the findings of the Hunter Committee Report referring to last year's atrocities in the Punjab, declared that conscription must be imposed on every alien man of military age in this country with a view to the protection of their life and property and the honour of the women folk of the Anglo-Indian and European communities. Mr Montagu said, "No, no, I cannot do that, that will be an unjust measure." That is Mr. Montagu; that

is what Mr. Montagu replied ; but what has he granted ? Under the new Bill, will my son be able to be enlisted without any difficulty in any Volunteer corps ? Will they allow us to organise our own volunteer corps as the Europeans do ? Even before, in the European volunteer corps Indians might be admitted if only the members of those corps were agreeable to their admission. Will that restriction be removed ? It cannot be removed unless and until I am allowed to organise my own black or brown corps, to have my own officers, to have the future control of my corps in my own hands. Well, they are not going to do it. The Auxiliary Forces Bill will be there and it will be a menace to your freedom in India, because if you become inconvenient, if you become rowdy, if the cause of peace and order is disturbed by you in any shape or form, then these gentlemen will be called out to keep you in order.

Now, that is the situation. Therefore, I say that unless you can get the full control of your defences by land, by sea and by air in your own hands, unless you can get the freest and fullest opportunity of carrying on scientific researches and inventions with a view to the utilisation of your national resources, unless you can get these things within the next ten years, your future and fate is practically sealed—humanly speaking. I do not know what God will do. He can do wonders. But, humanly speaking, this is the gloomy prognosis before you. What are you going to do ? The problem before you is that you must obtain full national autonomy, full control of every department of

your national life—civil and military; you must attain this within the next ten years if you are to live as a free nation among the free nations of the world in modern times. If you fail to do it you are gone. How are you going to attain this? Is it conceivable that waiting upon the pleasure of the British Parliament, following the lead of the Montagu Act, you will be able to obtain your full national freedom in ten years? The Montagu Act lays it down distinctly that at the end of ten years there will be appointed a Parliamentary Commission and that Commission will examine what you have done in these ten years. They will examine to what extent Co-operation has been received from you in the working of the new Act. They will examine to what extent reliance may be placed upon your public spirit and upon your sense of responsibility. And if you can stand the test of this Parliamentary Committee, then there may be another step—not in responsible government—but towards responsible government. That is the sum total of the Montagu Act. Can you believe Gentlemen, that by working the Montagu Act—however faithfully and loyally you may work it—you will be able to secure the control of your national defences as the first step towards national emancipation during these ten years? If not, and that is the only answer which must be given to this question, what then? What can you do? You must do something that will compel the authorities, something that will force the hands of the British Government here and the British Cabinet across the seas, to give you all that is necessary for supplying yourself for

national freedom and national self-government. How can you do it ? You can only force their hands by withholding your own hand from their administrative machine. That is the first principle of Non-Co-operation. Take your hands off the administration and every thing connected with the administration. Withhold co-operation as far as it may be. Mark these words, Gentlemen, "so far as it may be" and I use these words deliberately after mature thought and consideration. I say that, because it is impossible for any people in any country, whatever the form of its government, to live in that country and under that Government by refusing to co-operate with that government in every way. Absolute Non-Co-operation is an impossibility. And I do not think that those who are wanting the country to put its seal upon this campaign of Non-Co-operation are such fools as to mean by Non-Co-operation the absolute withdrawal of all co-operation from the Government. We cannot do it.

ABSOLUTE NON-CO-OPERATION IMPOSSIBLE.

It may truly be said that you cannot carry on even your physical life if you refuse to absolutely co-operate with the Government. When you go to buy your food you support the Government by using its currency and its credit. So we are not such fools as to say or to mean that absolute Non-Co-operation is possible or is our programme. What we mean is that we must not help the administrative machinery by our

voluntary efforts, so far as we may do so, and thereby prolong its life. That is what I mean by Non-Co-operation. Non-Co-operation is withdrawing support from the Government. What shape or form this Non-Co-operation will take, cannot be determined for all time, for all men and for all the Provinces by one man or by any one community or Province. The practical shape of Non-Co-operation will have to be determined by practical considerations. It may take one shape in the Punjab, another shape in Bengal. But what I want is this, that you, gentlemen, should ponder over the present situation and should consider whether there is any other weapon available to you to win your national freedom except this weapon of what is called Non-Co-operation. I would prefer my old familiar word, "passive resistance." Bengal understands passive resistance. Non-Co-operation is a new word to us, but it is the more harmless word. Passive resistance frightens some people, both friends and foes. Non-Co-operation possibly does not frighten the timid and does not also outrage the feelings of the virtuous (laughter). I think that is the virtue of Non-Co-operation. What they call Non-Co-operation is what we call passive resistance. Passive resistance means that we must resist the administration by forcing the administrators to do everything themselves and not have things done for them by us. That was our old passive resistance movement. But the new movement must be different from what the old passive resistance movement was.

TITLES AND GOVERNMENT SERVICE.

Now, Mr. Gandhi has proposed four stages of Non-Co-operation. Personally, I do not accept these four stages. I do not believe that those stages are workable. I do not believe that a large number of people will renounce their titles. They will not. But what we can do, I have already indicated. We should not recognise them (applause). That will take away the real value of these titles (laughter). Why does so much honour centre around a Rai Bahadur? Because a Rai Bahadur is believed to stand above others in the social scale. Why does the poor zemindar hanker after becoming a Raja? Because he thinks a mere zemindar is a nonentity, a Raja is a Durbari and a Raja gets more honour from society. Why do people hanker after the insignia of knighthood? Because it lifts them up to the seat of the mighty. Now, who makes them mighty? It is those who accept them as leaders of society? The man who was an ordinary man before he got his knighthood, as soon as he is invested with the insignia of his order—whatever his ability, whatever his character—comes and takes the chair for me at public meetings. These are the things which indicate the value of these titles; and it depends on you to say whether you should assign these values to these titles or not. If you refuse to recognise these titles their social value is reduced. Fifteen years ago, by repudiating the social value of these titles you worked a depreciation lower even than the depreciation

in gold and silver to-day in the value of these titles. Well that will be our first stage. Mr. Gandhi's first stage is meant for these who are title-holders. Our first stage is to refuse to give any social honour to title-holders. (applause). That will be part of the first stage of Non-Co-operation. Mr. Gandhi's second stage is refusing Government office. That is a large order. It is possible for Mr. Gandhi who has never been in Government service. It may be possible for my friend in the chair, who was at one time in Government service, but who has washed off these sins by his briefs all these years (laughter). It may be possible for others, but for those who are dependent for their own living, and for the living of those dependent upon them, on Government service, it is an impossible demand. After all, how many people are there in Government service? A very small percentage, a very insignificant percentage of only the English educated and half-educated classes are in Government service. The vast majority of the nation are not in Government service. So with regard to the second stage also, they cannot ask seriously those men who serve the Government to lay down their tools and go out into the streets and die of starvation, themselves and their families. But what we can ask them is to reduce and absolutely annihilate the social value of Government service. You may not remember, but I do remember the day when a zemindar with a rent roll of Rs 20,000 a year deposited Rs 10,000 with the Collector to become Treasurer on Rs 80 a month. What was it? Because a Treasurer in

the Collector's office had more social honour in those days than a zemindar with Rs 20,000 a year. There is still some social honour in Government service. It depends on you and me to depreciate the value of Government service in this way. Reduce it to its own proper proportion of money value. In our ancient scriptures it is said that a Brahmin may not take food cooked or touched by a non-Brahmin, but that in time of famine, a Brahmin may accept such food. Go and serve the Government but remember yourself and we will always remind you of it that you are simply observing a dire and evil necessity.

OTHER FORMS OF NON-CO-OPERATION.

But there are other ways of Non-Co-operation. Why should we boycott Government service only? Why should we stop all association with Government only? The Government is not the British official only. The Government has two parts, one is the Anglo-Indian exploiter, the other is the Anglo-Indian administrator. On one side is the administrator, on the other side is the exploiter. Non-Co-operation with the administrator to the extent that it may be possible; Non-Co-operation with the exploiter to a much fuller extent than may be possible with the administrator (applause), that ought to be your campaign. Non-Co-operation with those who on the slightest provocation or without any provocation bring out their tiger claws, Non-Co-operation with men who do not even respect the dignity of the Council chamber but, standing before the Governor of the

Province, hold out the threat that if Indians behave as they are wanted, they will deal with them in a way which they will never forget. Can we not deal with these gentlemen in a way which they also will never forget (applause)? I do not want to preach the gospel of a tooth for a tooth and an eye for eye. That is not my gospel, that is not Mr. Gandhi's gospel. But I want to improve their morals. These gentlemen black their own boots, 70, 80, 90 per cent. of them, in their own country. Their eminent ladies scrub the floor and cook in their own homes, 70, 80, 90 per cent. of them, They adorn themselves with aprons in the morning, kneel down before grates, rub and scrub the grater, cook and do all sorts of things. Why should they not be reduced to the same position in this country? I do not see why. It will not harm them if they should do a little work and not lord it over the blacks and browns. That is Non-Co-operation. There are other ways of Non-Co-operation. Mr. Gandhi fights shy of the word boycott. He says that it is a word which carries with it the spirit of revenge. No sir. I bear no ill-will against any individual, Englishman or Englishwoman or against them as a class, but I should strike and chastise my son when he outraged the feelings of my people without any spirit of revenge, may I not strike as God strikes, strike in love not in hatred, not with a view to secure retributive justice but for moral and physical regeneration. May I not do that? What harm is there if I organise a boycott of the private servants of the gentlemen for whom Mr. Watson-Smyth spoke the other

day in the Bengal Council? It will do their bodies a little good instead of riding in motor cars they will have to rub and scrub. It will do their souls good to cook for and feed their own children. It will do their spirit good to be reduced to a lower scale of humanity and to know that they are equal to the meanest Khanshama or bearer.

ECONOMIC BOYCOTT.

That is one phase of Non-Co-operation. Economic Boycott is another. Why should we sell and buy of these foreign exploiters of our country? Why should we barter our goods with the goods of these gentlemen? If you starve exploitation, administration will become weak; if you starve exploitation, administration will become reasonable; if you starve exploitation, administration will become helpless. Who supports the administration? The big exploiters? Who supports exploitation? The Administrator.

What was the meaning of the Panjab atrocities of last year? We know that there were murders of some Europeans at Amritsar, and destruction of some European property. We all deplore these outrages. But we cannot refuse to recognise that the mob had been wantonly provoked to so woefully lose themselves in a sudden fit of frenzy. This provocation came from the Military who fired on an unarmed and inoffensive crowd who wanted simply to go and see the Deputy Commissioner to ask for the release of their leaders. But though they committed those outrages in a sudden fit of frenzy, and

under very grave provocation, we do not condone those outrages ; but we ask, were these any justification for the atrocities that followed as a retribution for those outrages ? "For every European life a thousand Indian lives will be taken"—a European official is reported to have publicly declared. "You and your children will have to pay for the evil done", was the open threat held out by the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar. What do these mean ? Why is the life of a European more valuable in India than the life of an Indian ? The reason is this. These Europeans have to live in far away places in the prosecution of their business and they have to employ the Indians about them in this business and lord it over them ; and unless special protection is given them this economic and commercial exploitation cannot go on for a single day in the way that it has been going on for years and years past. The prestige of the British colour must therefore be maintained. The person and property of these European exploiters must be held especially sacred and the people of the country must be made to respect these almost as the Government itself. It was for this reason that the murder of five Europeans in Amritsar by a frenzied Indian mob led to all the things that General Dyer did. That is the real inwardness of the Punjab episode. That was the real meaning of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre". That was the true significance of the "Crawling Order" They talk of the attack on Miss Sherwood. It was not an indecent attack. It was an ordinary assault by a mad mob. It was no dishonour to her sex. Yet they have raised this cry of the protection of

their women and the safety of the honour of their wives and daughters. That is only a plea to protect the person and property of the European exploiter in this country.

THE HONOUR OF OUR WOMEN.

Have our women no honour ? No Indian outraged the honour of any Englishwoman, not even in the mob-outburst in Amritsar although it was in a frenzied mind, not cruel deliberately. But how many poor Indian women, how many coolie women, how many passengers on our own Railways have been dishonoured ? We did not murmur, we did not try to raise the standard of revolt for we had come to look upon these things as exceptions due to the common impulse of a carnal nature. Why do you not look upon the assault committed upon the European woman Miss Sherwood in Amritsar as an outbreak of mob frenzy ? Why cannot you look upon it as an outburst of criminal frenzy in a people whose comrades had been murdered by the soldiers ? Talk about defending the honour of your women. How did you take the reprisals in Minianwalla ? Colonel Smith when he visited Minianwala in the Gujrat District, having sent all the male population away, came to the village, entered the lanes, asked all the women to come out ; those who would not come out he pushed with his own stick (cries of shame).—For good ness' sake, give up this habit of crying shame. Think of it, nurse it, dream of it by night and think of it by day. This is not to cry shame on. Do not waste your energy by these effusive sentimentalisms. Deepen your sentiment;

strengthen your resolve to work the emancipation of your country from these things which are yet possible. Colonel Bosworth Smith went from house to house, called the women out—many of them purdanashins—those who would not come out he forced out with his stick, asked them to take off their veils and those who refused to do so he took off their veils. Is this honouring our women? Then he called them by pushing these off with his stick and said “when you were sleeping with your husbands why did you allow them to go away?” Can any man talk in this language to any woman, let alone a gentleman? But we are not men or women. We are beasts. That is the correct characterisation of us in the lexicon, in the mind and thought of the class whom Colonel Smith represents. We are dogs, our women are bitches. It is said that in Amritsar British soldiers went and became naked before the windows of Sikh, Jat and Mohommadan women. What do you say to that? The protection of the honour of your women! Who protects, who will protect the honour of my women?

WHAT HAPPENED IN THE PUNJAB MAY HAPPEN IN BENGAL.

When you look upon these things, when you consider what happened in the Punjab, can you understand that what happened in the Punjab last year may happen, if the occasion arises, next year in the United Provinces? Who knows that it may not even happen in Bengal? I said that they did not

dare to do these things in Bengal fifteen years ago. But if Bengal changes, if Bengal becomes reasonable, if Bengal becomes sane, then who knows that what happened at Lahore, at Amritsar and at Manianwalla in 1919 may not happen at Dacca, at Comilla, at Calcutta and at Mymensing in 1925, or 1930? Is there any guarantee? Why did not these things happen in Bengal in 1905 and 1906? Because Bengal had a backbone then, because Bengal had certainly developed a vertebra then, because Bengal had certainly become extremist then, because Bengal stood up with deathless determination in those days and stood no nonsense either from Government or anybody else. That is why the thing was impossible in Bengal in those days. But if Bengal becomes sane, consider this is practicable or impracticable—the question of practicability or impracticability I put out of court at once—because desperate diseases call for desperate remedies and when people are driven to extreme helplessness. They cannot consider what is practicable and what is not practicable, but they must make the impracticable practicable. If Bengal stops to consider these things, then rest assured the fate of the Punjab will overtake you also some day. Those who tried to save their skin in 1906-7 lost it woefully dishonourably in 1919. If you seek to save it to-day, you will lose it to-morrow. It is therefore that I say that we have no alternative except this Non-Co-operation to make an honest effort for the solution of the problem of national emancipation in India.

THE WAY TO FREEDOM.

There are only three ways of obtaining national freedom. One is the way of revolution. The other is the way of open rebellion. The third is Passive Resistance. The way of armed conflict is barred to us by outer circumstances and our inner responsibilities for reasonably securing of our own future and the peace of the world. Armed revolt is precluded from our programme, because in the first place we have not the materials for successful armed conflict and because in the second place even if we had them we must try every possible means of peaceful compromise and reconciliation before resorting to brute force. Sri Krishna did it. We have not forgotten that episode. He knew that the Kurus would not accept the offer of the Pandavas. Sri Krishna said "Let me try the way of peace, let me go and give the message of peace to the enemy". He did so and his offer was rejected and then and not till then was a Dharma-yuddha or the war of Righteousness declared, not before then. We have not the wherewith to oppose by physical might the might of the British. Even if we had that, our higher humanity, our higher civilisation, our wonderful outlook of men and the world, our lofty ideals of peace and good-will though they would not absolutely prohibit, would restrain us a hundred times before we took that fatal step. But it is not within the range of practical politics and we need not discuss it. That being out of the question what can you do now? The only thing

is to sit quiet and give up the struggle. Are you willing to give it up (cries of no) ! the next thing is to wait on the pleasure, the generosity, the sympathy of the British Cabinet and the British Parliament (cries of no). You cannot wait upon that either. What then can you do ? Non-Co-operation is the only weapon left you to fight for your national freedom. I have already said that what shape this Non-Co-operation will take cannot be decided upon yet. It will have to be decided by each Province for itself. It is a game of chess. Politics is a game of chess and you will have to put forward your own pawn or your queen or your castle according to the move made by your opponent. Let us see if the Congress will set its seal upon the legality and constitutional character of the campaign of Non-Co-operation and upon the fact that this is our only weapon and, that this is our last chance. Upon this let us see what the Government will do.

DO NOT REPEAT THE MISTAKE OF 1906-1908.

Gentlemen, I have one word further to tell you about it and that is this. The last time in 1906 and and 1907 the country suffered. Why did it suffer ? Why did Bengal suffer ? Why did our young men in their thousands suffer ? Why did a number of our young men go underground and commence to work for revolutionary ends ? Who is responsible for it ? We are responsible for it. We divided the country. One party went away from another party. One party went at the back of the authorities. If that party had not sided with the

authorities—however moderately, with whatever reservation it may be—if that party had not convened public meetings to decry the more advanced party, if they had not made loyal proclamations, if they had not with trembling of heart and with a view to save their skins repudiated all sympathy with the more advanced politicians, then the history of the Minto regime would have been very differently written. That which was throbbing in 1906 before the Congress of that year, in the political and administrative atmosphere of India is throbbing also again to-day, on the eve of the special Congress of 1920. And if you gentlemen, if our Moderate friends will come and join this Congress, not to deflect it from its deliberation to take up non-co-operation but to stand by it in the hour of trial that is coming on (applause), all will be well. Mr. Montagu has already raised his big stick, he has already said that the Government of India and the local Governments have been given a blank card to deal with whatever situation may arise through Mr. Gandhi's campaign of non-co-operation. They are holding their hands. Why, do you know? They are waiting the decision of the Congress. If the Congress divides, if the country divides as it did in 1906-1907, then repression which has held its hand hitherto will come down first upon Mr. Gandhi; if not upon Mr. Gandhi, then possibly upon the smaller fries in the non-co-operation movement and the history of 1908, 1909, 1910 and 1911 will be repeated in 1920, 1921, 1922 and 1923. That is what I see before me. Therefore I beg of my Moderate friends (applause),

I beseech them, I pray to them in the name of our common Mother (applause) to come but not to oppose this campaign of non-co-operation. It is the inspiration of Providence. The whole of India sees it. Do not oppose it. Opposition to non-co-operation means support to official repression. Let it be clearly understood that whoever in the press or on the platform opposes non-co-operation, lends so much strength to the bureaucracy already eager to crush it with iron knuckles and beat down non-co-operation to the ground. And what happened in 1906 and 1907 will happen again. The movement went underground in Bengal. Let the authorities take note that passive resistance or the non-co-operation movement which possessed Bengal alone in 1906, 1907 and 1908 has become an all-India movement to-day and it will be the height of suicidal folly on the part of Anglo-Indian politicians and British statesmen to do anything that may direct the energy, the enthusiasm, the deathless determination, the spirit of self-sacrifice that this cry of non-co-operation has evoked in the country into unhealthy, and unconstitutional channels. Take your lesson from the past. Non-co-operation or passive resistance in 1907 and 1908 failed because repression drove a number of ardent and impatient young men to secret political propaganda. That was their mistake. The Government's mistake was to start repression, the mistake of our leaders was to leave the young men to themselves and let them go underground. Let not that story be repeated to-day.

So I appeal to every party, every individual leader, to stand by the people in the hour of their need. In a country like ours there can be no parties, except two parties—one the party of the Government and the other the party of the people (cries of hear, hear). There can be no third party. These who are not with the people are against the people. We have come to the evening of our lives. We may pass our days in peace, possibly even in so-called honour, but what about our sons? The spirit of national freedom once quickened in a people never dies unless that freedom is attained or the nation itself dies in the attempt. I may temporise. My son will not. Even if he did my grandsons will not, and they will pay the penalty of my temporising by suffering greater repression, by paying a greater price for this freedom which I might buy for a comparatively small price.

NON-CO-OPERATION.

(SECOND LECTURE)

On the last occasion, in the Indian Association Hall, I tried, as far as I could, to place before you the situation in India as well as outside India which affects us very vitally. I tried to point out, in the first place,—that was my first premise—that the Government of India is essentially of the nature of a military occupation (hear, hear). That was my first premise and I established it by a reference, among other things, to the Punjab atrocities of last year ; and that being so, I considered the situation in India, as a military occupation by a very small number of foreign soldiers but supported by a very large number of Indian Sepoys and policemen. That is, to my mind, the real character of the Government of Britain in India at the present time. And I tried to point out, in the next place, that owing to circumstances with which you are all familiar, the ground of recruitment for the Indian mercenary troops has been very much narrowed during the last few years. The Punjab was about the largest recruiting field, and we all know it will be difficult to have a large number of recruits from the Punjab after what happened there last year. The next recruiting field was the trans-frontier Mahomedan Province or Provinces. And the Turkish policy of the Government has considerably diminished the possibilities of recruitment there also. My second premise, therefore, was the narrowing down of the field of recruitment in India and, in view of it, the gradual weakening of the strength of

10808³

Library, 6, Bhagwandas Road, New Delhi.

24-3-58

this military domination. For long years past, we had been looking forward to this development, when the present Government would realise its physical weakness, and realising this, would try to reconcile the interests of the Empire with the interests of India. That was our one hope of reconciliation. But looking abroad and considering the world situation now, we find a new menace to India's future freedom and a new obstacle in the way of the reconciliation of the legitimate interests of Indian Nationalism with the reasonable requirements of the integrity of the present British Empire. A menace to this has appeared in the new acquisitions of British Military Imperialism in Africa. That was my third premise on the last occasion. And I said that in view of this new menace which would take at least ten years, or not very much more than ten years, to fully materialise, it became imperative that we must make a heroic attempt to win complete National autonomy within this period. These, gentlemen, were my premises and my conclusion from these premises was that Non-Co-operation was our only weapon and this was our last chance (loud applause).

THE BENGALÉE VS. THE PIONEER.

Now, I have referred to these, because I found last Saturday morning the "Bengalee" making the declaration that it did not accept my premises and entirely differed from my conclusions. Now, the soul of my premise is, the new menace

from Africa. The "Bengalee" might not accept my premise but there are others who have been a little troubled by this presentation of the subject. The "Pioneer" of Sunday last came out with a very significant paragraph which I would read out to you and which, to my mind, while abusing me—calling me a ~~hair~~-brained politician—still in the main supports my position. This is what the "Pioneer" writes:—"Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal who once delivered himself of the celebrated dictum that there are no anarchists in Bengal—only evolutionary patriots—has started a new scare in the hope of giving a fillip to the Non-Co-operation movement. It appeared that according to this enlightening exposition of political extremism, Non-co-opeation is to be regarded as absolutely the last chance for the Indians and even of winning their national freedom. India must obtain freedom, by which we suppose, it means—complete Swaraj within the next ten years, otherwise, the alien oppressors will have time to organise and equip hordes of African tribes and bring them over to India for the purpose of holding India in subjection indefinitely. It is of course generally known that it was the avowed intention of Germany, (mark these words) if she won the war, to draw on Africa's illimitable store of manhood with the object of establiseing a German super-state ruling over a congeries of slave states."

Gentlemen, this is exactly—not in such fine English but in plainer language—what I told you the

other day. The "Pioneer" replies that that British Government, however, could or would contemplate anything of the kind is so absurd that it carries its own refutation with it. That is the only argument of the "Pioneer"; namely, that what Germany aimed at, what German military Imperialism was out for in Africa, cannot be thought of by British Imperialism which has succeeded to the premier position in the modern political world after the destruction of her once powerful rival; that what Germany wanted to do—and it is generally known that Germany wanted this—Great Britain cannot do. To think that Great Britain can do this is such an absurd thing that it carries its own refutation with it. (hear, hear, and laughter). The "Pioneer" has no other argument except the pontifical pronouncement that what was possible for Germany is impossible, inconceivable and absurd to think possible, for Great Britain. "If Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal seriously believes this nonsense he has less intelligence than we have hitherto credited him with"—says the "Pioneer." Of course that does not matter. "The Non-Co-operation movement must indeed be in a bad way if the people's flagging interest requires to be excited by palpable mare's nests of this kind and one fails to marvel at the length to which racial animosity could sometimes drive men until distrust of other's motive becomes a matter of obsession and no hair-brained canard is too incredible to be accepted without question if only it can be utilised in some way to discredit the detested race." Now, this is what the "Pioneer" says,

and I think the "Pioneer," without meaning it, really supports my contention. The "Pioneer" admits that it was generally known that Germany, if she had won the war would have organised and equipped the illimitable man-power of Africa with a view to establish a super-state over a congeries of slave-states. Now, if Germany wanted to do it, why cannot Great Britain, placed in the same position—desire to follow in its wake? They are both Teutons—the Anglo-Saxons came from the other side of the channel—racially they are one; and they have both been out for world-domination, for world-exploitation. And the real cause of the German war was that England had left no room for the expansion of German Imperialism and the satisfaction of German ambition. That was the real root of the last war. Gentlemen, my main premise is thus admitted by the "Pioneer."

NO RACE-HATRED.

I should like to add only one word of comment to what the "Pioneer" has said and it is in reference to race-hatred which it has raised. I have absolutely no hatred of any race. I do not hate the British. I cannot hate the British. I have, I think, as many friends among Englishmen and women at "home" as many of the writers in the Anglo-Indian journals. As a nation I have nothing to say against them. My fight is not with the English people, my fight is not with the individual English, my fight is with British Imperialist policy (hear, hear). And if such a policy had

been started in India, if our own people had tried to carry out such a policy of Imperialist expansion and exploitation, my pen and my voice, and all the strength that God has given me, would have risen in revolt against it, as it has risen in revolt against the British Imperialists. There is no question of race-hatred here. The "Pioneer" wants to draw a red herring across our path. With all the emphasis I can command I say that in my writings, in my speeches, in my public life and in my private conversation, never have I preached racial ill-feeling, and that none can accuse me of race hatred or of race partiality. On the other hand, I have little love for the British bureaucracy.

SJ. SATYENDRA PRASANNA SINHA'S APPOINTMENT.

You have heard Srijut Satyendra Prasanna Sinha (I do not recognise him as Lord (hear, hear), I do not know a better title than Srijut) Satyendra Prasanna Sinha has been appointed to be the first Governor under the new Montagu Act in Behar. I have raised my voice against it in the "Independent." This has surprised many of my friends including the "Bengalee" and the "Englishman." The "Bengalee" is surprised at it and calls it contemptible and yet devotes more than a column of its valuable space to discuss this contemptible thing and has quoted the whole of the contemptible article of the "Independent" of yesterday morning. I consider this appointment as a new menace to our freedom. How ? Because

this appointment will decoy good many of our ardent patriots from the work that they have been doing hitherto. The position of a Provincial Governor may tempt even the gods (laughter) and I shall not be surprised if this appointment, as I said, lures away a fair percentage of our own workers from the Nationalist to the Government side. We have nothing to offer except prison. We have nothing to offer except calumny. We have nothing to offer except poverty. We have nothing to offer except the sacrifice that the Mother demands of every worker (hear, hear). We have nothing more to offer. On the other side, there are great allurements of high offices, big briefs, culminating in the Governorship of a province, some day possibly, even in the position of the Viceroy. Why then should we rejoice? I do not rejoice at it. What reason have we to believe that a Bengali Governor will make a better ruler than an Englishman? I do not believe it. Man to man, there is no difference between an English official and a Bengali official. On the other hand, the Bengali official must necessarily be the weaker man of the two (hear, hear). The Englishman knows—the Englishman ruling a province knows, that he stands there in his own right. The Bengali appointed to be the ruler of a province will never be able to forget that he has got it as his reward for the services done to the alien Bureaucracy (hear, hear). An Englishman knows that if he tries to do the right and even if his superior official does not approve of it, he will have the approbation of his own conscience. And he will

have a certain number at least of his colleagues who may approve of his conduct, he will not only have the approbation of his own countrymen here but also across the seas at his back. Even General Dyer is supported by practically the whole of the European and Anglo-Indian community (shame, shame), even General Dyer is practically supported by the Government of India and by the British Cabinet (loud cries of shame). He has been practically supported, not in his excesses, not in his indiscretions, not in the indecent way in which he discharged his duties, but he is supported in the general policy and the fidelity to duty which he has been credited with. Can you conceive of an Indian Governor doing what he thought to be right, receiving the support of the officials here even if he goes against the official policy or of the Anglo-Indians here if he hurts their interest? And as for your support and my support, these do not count in the least. Every Indian, appointed to such a high position, knows it that he is in the nature of an experiment. He further knows that he is on his trial and the success of the experiment will be measured by his capacity to fit himself in the particular place of the official machine where he has been put (hear, hear). That is the success of the experiment. The success of the experiment will be measured and determined by his capacity not to create inconvenient situations, but by his capacity to pull on well with his Anglo-Indian and British colleagues. And under these circumstances, human nature

being what it is, I do not believe that an Indian placed in such a high position can discharge his duties as conscientiously, as honestly, as fearlessly of all consequences, as many an English bureaucrat has done and will be able to do. I do not think that even Sriyut Satyendra Prasanna Sinha will be able to stand up like the late Sir Henry Cotton against the Government of India. Sir Henry stood up against Lord Curzon's policy in regard to the Assam Tea Garden labour (hear, hear.) I do not think—I shall be surprised if—an Indian Governor, taking his appointment as in the nature of an experiment, will have the courage to do what Sir Henry did. Sriyut Satyendra Prasanna Sinha is the father of the Press Act (shame, shame). Did he stand up for the rights of his people as Law Member when he held that position? And after what he did in regard to the Press Act, we have no reason to expect that he will not act similarly in regard to other matters that may be called for from him, in the interest of the fundamental policy of the British Bureaucracy in India. One swallow does not make a summer; and even two hundred Sinhas occupying every high place in the Administration will not make the Administration in India National. It will be bureaucratic. And we Nationalists have always declared that we do not want a Brown Bureaucracy in place of the present White Bureaucracy. On the contrary, if we are to have a Bureaucracy at all, it is preferable that we should have an alien Bureaucracy without any rights in the country, without the thousand and one subtle

social influences which each one of us exerts and to which each one of us is subject as a native of this country. Considering all these things, I believe that Englishmen, foreigners and aliens, rather should be made to rule our provinces than Indians imported from one province into another until Indian constituencies are able to control the Indian Executive. Therefore, I say that we are not out for participating in the loaves and fishes of office. The situation being, as I tried to explain the other day, so critical, you must, if you are ever to attain your freedom, win it before the present British military imperialism has had time to organise and train and equip the illimitable man-power, to quote the "Pioneer", of the African Continent with a view to keep us in physical subjection.

HOW TO WIN OUR FREEDOM : ARMED REVOLT ?

Now the question is how can we achieve it. The first thing that may occur to thoughtless and reckless people is armed revolt. This is out of the question. We have not the materials for an armed revolt, and even if we had them, no sane Indian politician would for a single moment lend his support to the very idea of it. And I will tell you, why. An armed revolt even where it succeeds necessarily establishes in the transition period a military despotism over the people. You cannot succeed in an armed revolt without bringing in the train of your success military despotism. That was the same in France, that has been the same in other parts of the world. It was not the same in America ;

and the reason was this, that in America the civic life of the people had been fully organised, the municipal and other local self-governing institutions had received a degree of perfection not existing at that time even in the United Kingdom itself. It was owing to the fact that America had powerful municipal and other institutions of self-government, it was because of the fact that America had a national militia composed of the various provincial or State militia, as they came to be called later on—and because the American War of Independence was a very small affair after all—it was because of this that an armed revolt succeeded in establishing national independence without military autocracy or despotism in the United States. But you have no civic organisation in India ; you have no militia of your own in the districts. Therefore any armed revolt will necessarily depend upon the organisation of a huge army—not a national army in the true sense, that is, an army subject to national control, but an army controlled by some capable general, and when that general succeeds in the revolt it is not likely that he will give it up to you as a free gift. It is not likely that his officers, once tasting power, will renounce it in your favour. It is not at all likely that the military will ever give up their supreme control of your national affairs and your national assemblies. It has never happened any where. Then it is not because of the want of materials merely but also out of considerations of high statemanship and, above all, from considerations of our ethical and our

spiritual culture that we cannot lend our support to any idea of military revolt.

SECRET REVOLUTION.

The next is secret revolutionary propaganda. But that is fatal to the moral life of the nation and the spirit of freedom in the people. Secret revolutionary propaganda starts with terrorism, feeds on terrorism and lives by terrorism ; and by seeking to terrorise the Administration ends by terrorising the people, and the demoralisation of the Government follows at the same time with the demoralisation of the people. Secret revolutionary propaganda therefore can never succeed in our endeavour to attain national freedom. And if it succeeds at all, it must succeed through an open armed revolt and the objection against armed revolt applies equally against secret political criminalism as a means for the attainment of national freedom.

CONSTITUTIONAL AGITATION OUT OF THE QUESTION.

What then have we to do? Constitutional agitation ! It is an old word. But, as we have been saying for the last 15 years, there can be no constitutional agitation except in a country which is subject to a constitutional government (hear, hear)—and a constitutional government is not an autocracy, not an irresponsible bureaucracy. Our government is not a constitutional government. In a constitutional government public opinion rules the policy of the State. In India the policy of the Bureaucracy is not controlled, by a jot or a title, by

the opinion of the people of the country. And our Government not being a constitutional one, not being subject to a constitutional State authority, constitutional agitation in India is a meaningless thing. It means, what Mr. Ashutosh Chowdhury, before he was raised to the High court Bench, many years ago declared, political mendicancy. And political mendicancy never wins freedom. It may get—as mendicancy always does—a few little crumbs from the Bureaucratic table. even big slices of bread or mutton, it may be,—but it never gets the mastery of one's own house (hear, hear). It remains always in the position of a dependent and a slave as it always was. Constitutional agitation is therefore out of the question.

BRITISH IMPERIALISM AND INDIAN FREEDOM.

In the next place, shall we wait upon the pleasure of the British people and the British Parliament for the attainment of our freedom? No Sir. The British Imperialist policy, if you know it, if you know the inwardness of it—you will understand, does not contemplate a future—within a conceivable distance—when India shall be a free nation among the free nations of the world. Mr. Montagu calls us a partner nation. We are a partner nation. In the days of my boyhood, we had—in Eastern Bengal, in any case, in my own district—remnants of our old slave system. In my own family we had one who might be called a slave. He was treated and looked upon as one of the most important members of the family. But for all that he was not the son of the house—the son of the

house was myself—for all that he was a slave, but a partner in the family commonwealth. He was a partner—my father gave him in marriage, fed him, clothed him and his wife and children. My father gave his daughter in marriage. My father treated him and his family all along kindly and considerately and looked upon him as his own son. Sympathy he had ; kindness he had more than he could desire even from his parents. But for all that he was a slave, at the most a slave partner in the family commonwealth. Wealth and office and rank we may have if Mr. Montagu's great heart's desire is fulfilled (laughter). But we shall be partners in the British Commonwealth of the class and type to which my father's born slave was a partner in my family commonwealth (hear, hear). Mr. Montagu says that we shall gradually become equal partners in the Empire. But how long will it take? Mr. Montagu does not—dares not—tell us that. There was a question of reconstruction of the Empire after the war. And we thought that when the war was over, there was going to be a reconstruction of the Empire and we were going to be admitted into equal partnership with the other members of the British Commonwealth. The war is now over. During the progress of the war the British Coalition Cabinet invited the Prime Ministers of the different overseas Dominions to join it to form an Imperial War Cabinet and—in that Cabinet two Indians were also invited—not Premiers of India—not the chosen representative of the people, but the faithful servants and friends

of the Government (shame, shame)—one was the Maharaja of Bikaner and the other was Sriji Satyendra Prasanna Sinha. There was also an Imperial Conference convened about the same time. The Imperial War Cabinet and the Imperial Conference the two bodies, one meeting with the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George as its President and the other sitting with the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Walter Long—and I believe he was then the Colonial Secretary—as its president—both these conferences, these Imperial gatherings considered the question of the reconstruction of the Empire. They placed on record that the Dominions are self-governing Sovereign States inside the Empire and India is an important part of the Empire. Mark the distinction; the first paragraph was that the Dominions are self-governing Sovereign States within the Empire and the second paragraph is that India is an important part thereof. And what was the Imperial Conference doing of which Sriji Satyendra Prasanna Sinha was a member? It said that the problem of Imperial reconstruction must be left for future consideration and treatment. In the meanwhile it should be considered whether Imperial Preference in trade relations might not be established between India and the self-governing Colonies of Great Britain. It declared, gentlemen, that the time for political reconstruction had not come but the time was ripe for economic reconstruction (shame, shame) with a view to the better exploitation of the natural resources and the cheap labour of this dependency.

BRITISH IMPERIALIST IDEA.

Our Moderate friends will not seize the inwardness of it unless they know something more. Eleven years ago, in 1908, a remarkable article was published in the "Times" in its Empire Day edition. In that article the "Times" clearly pointed out the line of Imperialist evolution. In that article, the "Times" declared that the British Empire was not one but two and the two was one. The British Empire were two Empires joined in one. One Empire was the self-governing Empire consisting of Great Britain and the self-governing Dominions. The other was the dependent Empire, composed of India, the Crown Colonies and the Protectorates. And the Self-governing Empire was invited to gradually enter into partnership with the United Kingdom in the government and the economic development of the Dependent Empire. That was in 1908 and we find practically a reiteration, re-interpretation and re-presentation of that Imperialist policy to-day. The inspiration of it came from Lord Milner. We see the re-iteration and re-representation of the same policy in the conclusion of the Imperial Conference of which Sriyut Satyendra Prasanna Sinha was one of the representatives of India. During the time of the War they were all talking and thinking of Imperial reconstruction. A series of articles appeared in the "Times" on Imperial Reconstruction and in these articles it was clearly laid down that the future

of the British Empire would largely depend upon the line of evolution that the non-British peoples within the Empire might take in the future. And the writers said we know the white races of the Empire, we know what they are. They belong to our race, they belong to our civilisation. They are proud to call themselves *Britains across the seas*. But it is not applicable to those peoples in the Empire who are not of British or predominantly British descent. This cannot be said of Egypt or Rajputana, to quote their own words—not Egypt or India.

AN ALLIANCE OF DIS-SIMILARS.

Bengal! Do you understand the significance of the statement? Egypt and India usually convey the impression to the readers that India is a homogeneous country, that it is a nation, that it has elements of nationhood; and therefore the clever writer says Egypt or Rajputana or Bengal; and he says that he does not know what line of evolution Egypt, Rajputana or Bengal would take in the coming years—whether gradually these will closely approach to their own type, so that after some time they will be able to assimilate them into their own commonwealth, just as they have assimilated Canada and South Africa, or whether these would develop such widely divergent tendencies, that the reconstruction will have to follow the line of alliance of dissimilars. Just mark these things. This line of evolution will take years and years—perhaps it will take centuries to fully develop itself and indi-

cate its own nature and its coming trend and tendencies and until that is done,—until Egypt, Rajputana and Bengal have satisfied the British Imperialist that they can be assimilated to the great Anglo-Saxon stock or until they develop tendencies so distinctly their own that the question may arise whether to keep them within the Empire, some scheme or schemes will have to be devised to form an alliance of dissimilars. In either case, it will take long, long years, longer than 25, 30 or 50 years to indicate our future line of evolution. But what about the present? The Imperialists say, in the meantime, the existing order must be continued. Mark, in the meantime the existing order must be continued. In the meantime the idea that they hold Egypt, Rajputana and Bengal as a Trustee must be sedulously cherished by the British and must be encouraged and cultivated among Egyptians, Rajputs and Bengalees. So Egypt, Rajputana and Bengal these are their trusts and must be maintained as such during this period until they have developed either the British line of evolution, until they have proved whether they can be Englishmen or they must be something different from Englishmen with a view to form some scheme of alliance of dissimilars. This will take years and years.

THE VOICE OF A MASTER TO A SLAVE.

And if you read carefully the Montagu-Chelmsford Report—if you read carefully the Montagu Reform Act, you will find that the inner spirit, the inner

motive, the inner objective and the inner idea of this much-talked-of reform is absolutely the same as of this British Imperialism to which expression was given in the columns of the "Times" during the progress of the last war. The Montagu Act, we have been told—even this morning—we are hearing it every morning from Keranibagan-Bowbazaar—that the Montagu Act is the gospel of our salvation, that the new Reform Act will bring us all that we desire. But we know what these reforms are. I will, however, tell you what the reforms strike an outsider,—from a letter which has appeared in the "Democrat", a letter from an American friend of mine, well-known in the United States, well-known in Canada as a minister of religion, well-known in England also as a preacher of liberal religion who had come to India twice and had met me on both those occasions in India. I met him once in London also. And he writes to me from New York:—

"I generally like the position you take in Indian affairs, and toward Great Britain, and now particularly toward the New Government of India Act. As I see it, the damning thing about that Act is it does not concede that India has any rights; it is the voice of a master to a slave; because England possesses the power therefore she may do what she pleases; there is nothing mutual about it; it is a thing dictated by one party upon the other; therefore it is a thing that India can accept only on her knees. It seems to me India should say to England :

"This is our country: it is not yours. You have no right to be in India, except the right of the sword, and that is no right. But as a fact you are here, and for a time at least we must live together; therefore let us together form a plan for carrying on the Government which will insure peace, and which will be as fair and just as possible to both parties. To this end let a Commission be appointed by you and another by us, and together let the Joint Commission work out a Scheme of Government Reform. Such an arrangement will be just and fair. Nothing short of such an arrangement will India accept. Nothing short of these aught England to ask or desire us to accept."

Now this is what an American,—Doctor J. T. Sunderland, a renowned American publicist and minister of religion, whose love of India and whose love of human freedom and international peace and fellowship, has compelled him in his present age after his retirement from the pulpit to take charge of our organ in New York—the Young India. He is now the editor of Young India taking the place left vacant by Lala Lajpat Rai (loud cheers) on his coming back to India. And Dr. Sunderland writes in this strain to me. I think Dr. Sunderland has put the whole case in regard to the Montagu Act in a nutshell. We had no part or lot in the framing of this Act. Mr. Montagu came, he saw, he slept, he talked with the Viceroy, he held interviews with Indian politicians and publicists. He never consulted the people. He never came to the National Congress.

He never came to the Moslem League. He never saw with his own eyes or heard with his own ears what the united voice of India wanted. He came and he consulted the Government of India and he went and drafted a Bill and a Joint Committee of the two Houses of Parliament considered that Bill and passed it. We were not represented in the framing of the Bill. Our opinions were taken as evidences of outsiders. We were not consulted in a matter concerning us. It is imposed upon us by them and the objective of this Act is to prolong the life of the present Bureaucracy (hear, hear) and to prolong our present political and economic serfdom. That is the object of this Act. You can as quickly, as effectively draw sunshine out of cucumber, but, as it is, you cannot gain national freedom by working out this Montagu lollypop. You may get a few ministerships, but you cannot have freedom. Freedom is bred upon the rights of a people to defend its borders, as I said on the last occasion, and the Montagu Act does not contemplate even as a distant possibility the transference of the control of the military and the defence of the people of India to their own control. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report clearly said, I referred to it on the last occasion, that it is inconceivable that the last remaining connection between India and England will be the presence of British soldiers. We do not want them. We do not want the British soldiers because the British soldiers are there to keep the British civilians in power. We saw it in

the Punjab. Dyer was there to maintain the prestige of O'Dwyer. That was the whole thing. We want to defend our own borders ourselves. But you first deprive us of the right of self-defence ; you took away from us our right to bear arms ; you have emasculated us and now you put forward this fruit of your own policy and action, as a reason for not allowing us this right. And now you say that we are unable to defend ourselves and that we are at the mercy of every stranger that comes to our borders. We want only the right to organise ourselves, to train ourselves, to equip ourselves for the defence of our motherland. You won't give it. The Montagu Act does not contemplate it. It will not give us our national freedom.

SUMMING UP.

If armed revolt is out of the question, if revolutionary secret propaganda is out of the question,—if both are to be condemned as suicidal—if constitutional agitation is a myth, a delusion and a snare, if the Montagu Act makes no provision for transferring the right of defence of our country and if the inner policy of the British Military Imperialism is to prolong the present state of India's servitude—to encourage both in the rulers and the ruled the idea that they are here as our trustee and when we are able to take charge of our country it will be ours. If in the mean time they are to continue to rule over us, “to keep things going, to release every tendency

that does not threaten the safety of the Empire, to give the nation every chance and every opportunity that is not plainly mischievous"—which means that which does not threaten the interests of British Capital and British Commerce and the British ruling class or caste—and if the "native" does anything which is likely to hurt the power and prestige and position of the bureaucracy, these agitations must be put down by lawless laws and the executive lawlessness (shame, shame).

Therefore I say, we cannot expect to win national freedom as even an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of nations by means of this Montagu Act, even if we wait till the Greek calends. We may get Mr. Montagu as the Viceroy—he will make an excellent Viceroy, many of our friends will go and have beautiful dinners at the Government House at Simla or Delhi, they will have ample opportunities of securing appointments for their flesh and blood and their flesh and blood and their flesh and blood, (laughter). They will have ample opportunities even of carrying tales against the hated Extremists to the Viceregal ears. They will have opportunities of instigating repression against their political opponents. These they will have. But even with Mr. Montagu as Viceroy, they will not be able to bring us our freedom. Nay, not even with the magic wand of the Poet Laureate of Asia will Mr. Montagu be able to give us our freedom. No, gentlemen, these will not attain our freedom. These will not bring us the succour

that we want. What then will bring it? As I said on the last occasion and I say once again—that Non-Co-operation (hear, hear) is the only thing which will lead us to our cherished goal. But what is Non-Co-operation? I think, I shall be unfit for any work if I do not stop here in this wet weather. Next day, I shall straight away start with this question—What is Non-Co-operation?—and will explain its significance.

NON-CO-OPERATION.

ITS MEANING AND METHOD.

Swamiji* and friends : I have to speak in English as I have been doing in this series, because I want, if it is possible for me, to reach an audience not only outside Calcutta but also outside Bengal.

want not only my Bengali friends should consider my submissions but I want my Indian friends, my friends in the other provinces of India should kindly consider these submissions. And I want further ; I want those who are just now placed in authority over us to clearly understand what we are striving for, and how we propose, so far as it lies in our power and if it pleases God, to achieve our end. For these reasons, I will continue my speech in English. Just for one brief moment I will take those of you who were not present at my first lecture in the Indian Association Hall and also in the short lecture which, on account of the inclemency of weather I could not finish, which I delivered early last week in the Beadon Square. I want for a brief moment to carry them through my previous speeches.

RE-CAPITULATION.

In the first place, I hold that we must if we are to achieve—humanly speaking—National autonomy

* Swami Shraddhanandji who was present, kindly took the chair at this meeting.

or National freedom within any reasonable distance of time, we must make a heroic effort during the next ten years. I believe that if we fail to attain our complete National autonomy, that is, if we fail to secure full and complete control, not merely of our legislative machinery and our executive government but also of the instruments and organisations of national defence, if we cannot get full and unrestricted authority over our military policy and military organisation and over our police,—during the next ten years, then so far as human intelligence can foresee, humanly speaking, our fate and future will be sealed almost for ever. And my reason is this: I hold that the present Government in India is government by physical force. It is no doubt based upon the passive acquiescence of the people. But for this passive acquiescence this Government or, for the matter of that, any Government cannot exist for a single moment in India or elsewhere. (hear, hear), No doubt the present Government, as it happens with all Government the world over, is supported by the passive acquiescence of the people. This passive acquiescence, however, is being sought to be secured now by a show of military force. That is my interpretation of what happened in Bengal during the early years of the present century. That is the conviction that has been borne in upon me by the incidents of the Punjab last year. The administration of martial law and the atrocities committed under it in the Punjab—were

directed to one definite end, viz. to reduce, I am quoting official language, to reduce the morale of the people; to bring them into a docile mood, to induce a spirit of submission in the people by holding out to them the threat of aeroplanes and of all other things with which we have been made familiar in the Punjab. And the one lesson of the Punjab atrocities is this, that the Government in this country is Government through military occupation (shame, shame). There is no shame, my dear friends, in these things. Do not cry shame, as I said the other day. Take these things in and consider what these mean to you and to those who are coming after you. Now, this military domination is supported not by the handful of British soldiers in India, it is supported by our own soldiers, it is supported by our own police, it is supported by the army of the people of India. You must recognise that. In that, as I said in my speech in the Indian Association Rooms, lay at one time our great hope for the future; because we knew that the time was coming, if it had not already come, when there would be an awakening in those classes who furnished recruits for the Army and the Police under the Government; and with this awakening would come a sense of duty; there would be an awakening not only of patriotism, not only of national consciousness, but an awakening of the individual conscience in these men, and the time would come, we thought, when at the dictate of their conscience they would refuse to terrorise

over their fellow countrymen at the command of their foreign masters (hear, hear). We were looking forward to that time. But a new danger has appeared on the horizon and that danger is the acquisition of extensive territory by British Military Imperialism in Africa. The illimitable man-power, I am quoting the "Pioneer" which tried to contradict me,—of Africa was sought to be organised, trained and equipped by the Germans with a view to establish a Super-State ruling over a congeries of slave-states. This is what the "Pioneer" admits, and I think that was what German Military Imperialism wanted to do. There is absolutely no reason to believe why British Military Imperialism will not try to do the same. That is the new menace. It is a physical menace and this menace makes it imperative on you and me to make a heroic effort to win complete National autonomy within the next ten years, the period within which it will be possible for British Military Imperialism that has come into the inheritance of German Military Imperialism to organise, to train and to equip this illimitable man-power in Africa. Great Britain will be able to do this within these ten years and then as your soldiers had been taken to Abyssinia, as they had been taken to Soudan, as they had been taken to Somaliland and are being taken even to-day to Mesopotamia to hold that country under the heel of the British, similarly the African hordes will be inevitably invited to come and help the

military occupation of this country by British Imperialism (shame, shame). That is the situation. And that being the situation, how can we face it? If this fear once materialises itself, then as I said, our future and our fate will be sealed, humanly speaking, almost for ever. I say, humanly speaking, because God works wonders and we do not know what even in the darkest hours of our national history the will of God may not do or may not achieve. We must try to achieve, as I said just now, complete National Autonomy for India within this period. But how shall we achieve it. Armed revolt is out of the question. I will not discuss it. I discussed it on the last two occasions. Revolutionary criminal propaganda is also out of the question. And these are suicidal. I will not go into their detail to-day; I discussed them thoroughly on the last two occasions. Constitutional agitation is what is called in Sanskrit बन्धु पुत्रवन्—like the son of a barren woman. Constitutional agitation is possible only in a country where the Government is a constitutional one and Constitutional Government is not every Government because it has a constitution, but a Constitutional Government in history and politics is that which is controlled by the voice of the people. That is Constitutional Government, Your Government is an autocracy—is an irresponsible Government. The Government of India is not responsible to anybody except to his Excellency Lord Chelmsford and the Right Honourable Edwin Samuel Montagu, the Secre-

tary of State for India. The Government of India is not responsible to anybody except to itself that is to its own conscience. And I was told by a lawyer friend that conscience legally was described by high juridical authority as something which must be measured by the length of the boots of the presiding judge. So the conscience of the Government of India can only be measured by the length of the boots of his Excellency the Viceroy and that is the thing to which the Government of India is responsible. It is an irresponsible Government, an autocratic Government—a Bureaucracy which owes no manner of responsibility to the people over which it rules. Therefore, constitutional agitation is absolutely out of the question. It is like the son of a barren woman.

MONTAGU REFORM ACT

I read almost every morning in the 'Bengalee' that there is salvation for India in the Montagu Act. Behold the light of freedom bursting forth from White Hall in the form of this Great Act. We shall achieve our freedom by the Montagu Act. Well, I will not discuss that Act now. I will just remind you of this that this Montagu Act is not something apart from the general policy of the present-day British Imperialism and that Imperialism does not conceive an ending of the subjection of India or at least an early ending of it. This Imperialist policy says that the future of India must be determined by the course

of evolution that India takes. If India follows the line of evolution which the Overseas Dominions have taken which are proud to call themselves Britains across the seas, that is, if India develops in the line of the evolution of Canada, Australia or New Zealand or South Africa, then there will be a real sort of union between India and other parts of the Empire, but if India develops along a different line, then the problem of the Empire will be how to form an alliance of dissimilars. Now, all these, gentlemen, will put off the day of our deliverance even within the British Empire to the Greek Calends. It will take centuries to discover whether you will be like the Boers, whether you will be like the French Canadians, whether you will be like the Maoris or whether you will be like the Australians. It will take centuries to discover whether your particular line of evolution will fit in with the general scheme of the British Empire, so that some form of constitution may be devised by which there will be an alliance of dissimilars. This evolution will not indicate its trends and tendencies within the next ten years and there can therefore be no Imperial reconstruction within this period which will raise India from its present status of a dependent to that of a partner nation. Therefore the Montagu Act, being based upon this imperial policy, it is inconceivable that by holding on to this act—by working it—we shall be able to attain what we want, namely, complete National autonomy,

as a Sovereign State in the British Commonwealth of Nations, if you please, as a Sovereign State among other Sovereign States belonging to the British Commonwealth of nations. The Montagu Act will not help us to attain it—not, in any case, within the next 20, 25, 30 or 50 years.

NON-CO-OPERATION AND THE BENGAL PROVINCIAL CONGRESS
COMMITTEE.

This being the case, what are we to do? This drives us to the conclusion that Non-Co-operation, as it has been called, is our only remedy. It is, as I have been writing day after day in the column of the "Independent" our last chance. Now, gentlemen, what are we to understand by Non-Co-operation? I must say very frankly with all respect to those who have introduced this term in our present political literature,—I must say that this word Non-Co-operation is apt to lend itself to considerable confusion of thinking. I was asked by an old lawyer friend last Sunday at the meeting of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee where we discussed this matter, to explain what is Non-Co-operation. You may remember that the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee has after all saved the face of Bengal and has accepted the principle of Non-Co-operation. They passed a series of Resolutions last Sunday and the first resolution declared that it is the considered opinion of this Committee, I am not quoting the exact words, that Non-Co-operation, in the sense of passive resistance, is a perfectly constitutional weapon

in the struggle between a people and its Government. That is our first declaration. Whatever individual journal—ists or isolated politicians may say, so far as the united voice of politically-minded Bengal is concerned, so far as that voice is authoritatively expressed by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, we say, we have committed ourselves definitely and unequivocally to the principle of Non-Co-operation, in the sense of passive resistance. We have said also that Non-Co-operation in the sense of passive resistance is a perfectly constitutional weapon. We went on in the second resolution, to say, that in view of the indecent haste and the utter disregard of public opinion with which the Rowlatt Act was passed, in view of the administration of the Defence of India Act by which thousands of our youngmen and some old men also were arrested, detained and kept in prison without specification of charges or without trial, considering the way in which Martial law was declared and administered in the Punjab, considering the way in which the Turkish Peace Treaty has been settled by Great Britain and her Allies in absolute disregard of the religious sentiments of the Mahomedan community, and considering the failure of all other methods of political agitation to secure the elementary rights and liberties of the people of India, this Committee is of opinion that Non-Co-operation is the only weapon left to us to achieve our end. These are the main Resolutions that have been adopted by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.

CONFUSION OF THINKING.

This word Non-Co-operation, as I said, lends itself to considerable confusion of thinking and we ought to define what we mean by it. In my address in the Indian Association Hall, I used the words 'so far as it may be'. We shall adopt Non Co operation so far as it may be. My old friend of Bowbazar Street (laughter) the "Bengalee" has seen in it a clever dodge—a clever loop hole by which, he thought, I wanted to get out of any inconvenient position in which my acceptance of the principle of Non-Co-operation might place me. I am sorry, my friend, did not exercise a little, very little imagination. If he had done so he would have seen that we are not such fools as to say that it is possible for any subject population under any Government to even continue to carry on their daily life by absolutely refusing co-operation with their Government. We have to buy and sell. And unless we go back to the old days of barter, that is, unless I take my articles to a grocer and tell him—will you give me these things in exchange of my articles? unless I go to the fisher-woman and ask her to accept my articles and give me some fish in exchange—and unless I go to the vegetable dealer and ask him to barter his good with mine and so on—how can I live? I have to use money, I have to use silver coins, and the paper-money printed on behalf of the Government and by the Government, and in using money—using paper money or silver money or copper money or nickel money—in using these currencies, we help

to keep up the credit of the Government. If the people refuse to touch paper money, the credit of the Government will be gone. The whole fabric of Government will come down like a house of cards (laughter). But we cannot do it. We are using it. We have to use it. Therefore, absolute Non-Co-operation, to take one instance, is impossible. We have to buy and sell and in buying and selling we have to use the currency of the realm and thereby keep up the credit of the Government. We have to use the railways which are either held by the State or guaranteed by the State. And in going from place to place, importing and exporting merchandies and thus using the railways we are co-operating with the Government. In using the Posts and Telegraphs we are co-operating with the Government. These are some of the elementary things in regard to which Non-Co-operation is absolutely impossible. Was I therefore so very wrong to say—was it a clever dodge on my part when I said—I shall adopt Non-Co-operation, so far as it may be. So far as it may be—means, so far as it is possible to adopt Non-Co-operation consistently with the demands of my social, my personal and my individual life. That is one thing.

NON-CO-OPERATION.
AS A CONSTITUTIONAL CAMPAIGN.

In the next place, we have discredited the idea of armed revolt, we have repudiated any idea of revolutionary criminalism. Ours is a constitutional move-

and Non-Co-operation as a constitutional movement must work within certain limits. Absolute Non Co-operation can never be a constitutional movement. Because, Government, bear with me just for a few minutes, while I explain to you the politics of Non-Co-operation—every Government has two classes of functions, one primary and another secondary. The primary function of every State or Government is the preservation of peace and order. When the Government fails to discharge its primary functions, it ceases to be a Government—it no more has the right to govern the people. Therefore, Non-Co-operation cannot be constitutional in regard to the primary functions of Government, it cannot be constitutional in regard to those functions upon which the Government exists as Government—the absence of those functions, the paralysis of the instruments of Government which will lead to the destruction of the Government, and the destruction of Government means anarchy. Government and anarchy are contradictory terms. Where there is Government there cannot be anarchy. Where there is anarchy there can be no Government. If you strike at the primary functions of Government you bring in anarchy and the Government ceases to govern. Therefore, any movement which strikes at the primary functions of the State cannot call itself a constitutional movement. We must clearly understand this. Every Government exists to maintain peace within and to protect the realm against outside invasion and every Government exercises these primary functions through the

police and through the army. These are the two instruments—the police and the army—through which Government exercises its primary functions. If this be so, then Non-Co-operation cannot be applied to these two primary functions of Government. We cannot withdraw our support from the police or from the army. I cannot, as a constitutional Non-Co-operator ask any one to withdraw from the police service or from the army. Then you may say—we are helpless, because it is with the police that the Government terrorises over us, it is with the help of the army that they hold this irresponsible authority over us.

NON-CO-OPERATION PROPAGANDA AMONG THE POLICE.

But here also there is scope for Non-Co-operation if you will think it out. I cannot ask my police friend to withdraw from the police service, but can legitimately ask him not to overstep the legitimate duties of his office in the discharge of his work. I can tell every policeman:—you are here to preserve order and not to terrorise over the people, and if your Police Superintendent, if the Magistrate or if the Commissioner or if any higher authority ask you to do things that are directed towards the terrorisation of the people, stand up in the name of your own conscience stand up for the integrity of your service, stand up for the preservation of law and order and say it is no part of your duty—we are to preserve order and not to create disorder (hear hear) with

view to give you an excuse to terrorise over our people. I can go to my police friends and ask them, in the name of their God, in the name of their conscience, in the name of their father and mother, in the name of their family and friends and in the name of their country and people—I can ask them you are here to preserve peace and order, you are not to apply your baton indiscriminately upon a peaceful crowd, you are not here to disperse a constitutional meeting, you are not here to act as provocative agents and pretend that you are also an ardent patriot and mix with those who are striving to attain the freedom of their country and lead them to revolutionary crimes with a view to kill constitutional, peaceful and patriotic movements (hear, hear). It is no part of your duty to do these things. I can go and tell them that if your superior officers ask you to fire upon an unarmed crowd you will be quite within constitutional and legal rights to refuse to fire. That is my line of work of Non-Co-operation so far as the police are concerned. And here is an ample field. The problem is not so simple as you wish. It is not like grammer-made-easy. Politics cannot be made easy. But my friend, there can be no freedom made easy. In the first place, they are in the service. They joined the service, under economic-pressure, to satisfy an economic need. But having joined the service you can only ask these to do their duty honestly. But mere asking will not do. You will have to organise your social force,

you will have to administer disciplinary action through your society upon mischievous policemen. You can do it. If a policeman betrays his trust, if a policeman oversteps his legitimate duties, if a policeman cooks cases, if a policeman indulges in crooked practice, and if he is supported in these things either knowingly or without knowledge by his superiors, it will be your duty to take up the social power which is in your hand and punish these policemen. That is the practical way of Non-Co-operation with regard to the police. When you have been able to quicken the conscience of the police and strike, through the disciplinary powers of your society, greater fear in the hearts of the policemen than their official superiors can strike, then, when the time comes and when the policeman is asked to do illegal acts he will say—I will not co-operate, I won't co-operate with you in quelling a riot by force, I will not co-operate with you in dispersing a peaceful crowd by force, I will not co-operate with you in firing upon a mere excited mob, I will not co-operate in outraging the modesty of Indian women (shame, shame), I will not co-operate with you to dishonour those who stand on the same level with my mother and my sister, my wife and my daughter. This is what we have to do. The work is a little more difficult. But freedom is not won by airy—fairy means.

NON-CO-OPERATION IN THE ARMY.

Then with regard to the army. The army represents the instrument of the State for the defence of the

realm against outside invasion. That is the legitimate function of the army and I cannot ask the soldiers to withdraw co-operation from the Government because that would be striking at the primary function of the State; that would be riding for a revolution; that would be creating conditions which would bring in anarchy. We do not want anarchy. We want to supplant an autocratic Government by a Government that will be subject to our control and responsible to us. Therefore we must lend our support to this primary function of the State, viz. the defence of the realm against outside invasion. Therefore, my dear friends, though I have accepted the principle of Non-Co-operation, I cannot possibly go about among the soldiers and ask them to lay down their arms. I cannot do it. But here also there is a wide field for me to help our cause. How can I do it? The army is for national defence. Bear that in mind. The Indian army is under no moral or legal obligation to go outside the borders of India to keep in subjection a distant territory conquered by British Imperialism. It is no part of the duty of the Indian Army to go to Mesopotamia, it is no part of their duty to go to Abyssinia; it was no part of their duty to go to quell the Boxer Rebellion in China; it was no part of their duty to go and fight Arabi Pasha in Egypt; it was no part of their duty to fight the Mahdi in the Soudan. These are no parts of the duty of our national army. It only exists for the defence of the realm—for the defence of our borders.

The national army is necessary for the protection of the territories of the nation from outside invaders. If an invader comes to our borders, every Indian soldier,—and for the matter of that, every Indian who is not a soldier and has never shouldered arms must go and protect his country. But it is no part of his duty—much less a moral obligation—of the Indian Sepoy to go to Mesopotamia and help the subjugation of the newly conquered people by the British; it is no part of the duty of the Indian Sepoy to go to Syria; it is no part of his duty to go to Palestine or Egypt to conquer their territories. It is no part of the duties of my army, that is the national army in India, because this army is our national army though controlled by an alien Government—it is manned by our people. It is a national army and the duty of a national army is to protect the territory of the nation and not to go and appropriate other people's land, not to go and keep a conquered people under subjection. It is no part of the duties of the Indian army to go and help the British Military Capitalist Imperialism to exploit the people, and the natural resources of Mesopotamia or Mosul. Therefore I say that our Non-Co-operation here ought to take this form. We ought to preach courageously, openly and clearly a propaganda of resistance among the Sepoys asking them to perform their legitimate function of the defence of the country and to refuse, in the name of the law and the constitution, of justice and humanity to be used as mercenaries for keeping down

other peoples and other countries under the heel of British Capitalist Imperialism. Just now we can preach a crusade against the despatch of Indian Army Divisions to Mesopotamia and Mosul, because Mesopotamia and Mosul have nothing to do with India. During the war it might have been justified, because during the war the plea was that the enemy would be coming that way to us. Therefore when an invading army is likely to come near you and is coming from a distance, in the interest of the defence of your realm, you can advance a few hundred miles and stop him there. (A voice—what was the necessity of sending Indian troops to France?). With regard to France the necessity was this,—we thought that if Germany conquered France and England, she might be able to conquer India. That was the plea upon which Indian troops were taken to East Africa. But that plea did not hold when Indian troops—before some of you were born—were sent to Abyssinia. There was no justification then. Therefore I say we can enter a protest and appeal to our soldiers not to allow themselves to be used as an army of occupation in the newly acquired territories in Mesopotamia and Mosul. We can do that.

NON-PAYMENT OF TAXES.

With regard to non-payment of taxes. There also we must proceed on absolutely constitutional lines. A general declaration of non-payment of taxes would not be constitutional, because that would strike at

the very root of the Government itself. Hampden did not refuse to pay any and every tax. He refused to pay a particular tax which he considered to be unjust. He refused to pay ship-money America did not refuse to pay any and every tax. She refused to pay tea-cess which it considered unjust. So, you and I cannot declare, make a general declaration, that we shall pay no taxes. We can, as a constitutional movement of Non-Co-operation or passive resistance—we can refuse to pay only a particular tax. In England when the Education Bill was passed and the Non-Conformists rose up in arms against that Act, they refused to pay the education cess. They did not refuse to pay income-tax as that would be an act of rebellion, that would be unconstitutional. But they refused to pay a particular tax. So far as non-payment of taxes is concerned, we ought to consider and take up one or two particular taxes which we consider to be unjust and refuse to pay those taxes. We cannot refuse to pay any and every tax. If you ask me—what tax would you ask us to refuse to pay? Well, so far as the Mesopotamian muddle is concerned, I think it would not be a bad thing—if you can do it—if you do not pay income-tax. You are not—many of you are not—payers of income-tax. But if you can make those who have to pay, refuse to pay it until the Government stops sending Indian Army Divisions and Indian mercenaries to Mesopotamia and Mosul, that would be constitutional. They are within their rights to

say—we will not help you to conquer other people's country with our men, with our money and we refuse to pay income tax with a view to prevent your sending Indian Army Divisions to Mesopotamia and Mosul and conquer these territories. That is a particular instance directed to a particular object and not a general refusal to pay taxes which will lead to the destruction of the Government machinery. You ought to understand that.

NON-CO-OPERATION AND PAYMENT OF RENT.

Then again, if you ask me as regards non-payment of taxes—well, well, I do not know, how will you take it—but it seems to me that instead of refusing to pay taxes, I would ask you to do one thing, which will bring in much greater profit to yourself and to all of us—you can ask the agriculturist not to pay rent. Not non-payment of taxes but non-payment of rent. What is rent? It is an unjust impost. The land-lord receives the rent, on what right?—as the farmer of Government revenue. The Government fixes a certain amount of revenue upon the land and asks my friends—here, will you undertake to pay me on a definite date, this revenue and I give you the right to collect it from the tenants—that is the origin of the Zeminadary system. They are revenue farmers. The revenue was farmed and contracted out to the Zemindars by the Government and they are receiving from the tenants what they have no right to receive. It will be a legitimate thing to start a movement, not for the non-payment of taxes but to

start a movement, as soon as possible, among the raiyats for the non-payment of rent. That would be striking—killing two birds by the same stone (laugh-ter). Because, you must understand it, that this system, the present Bureaucratic system is supported by the Zemindary system (hear, hear) and by getting hold of the Zemindars, by withdrawing your co-operation from them by asking people not to pay rent you can, as I said, kill two birds by the same stone. I am not for non-payment of taxes in a general way. I am for non-payment of a special tax for a special purpose which must be definitely laid down. But I can say that the more effective weapon to bring down the Government upon their knees is to ask the raiyat not to pay rent. If you can organise it, you will be doing much greater good to the cause than by simply talking that we won't pay taxes.

NON-CO-OPERATION IN OFFICIAL EDUCATION.

Then, my dear friends, there remains another thing. You ought to withdraw your co-operation from Government schools and colleges. It is no new cry in Bengal—your College Square is familiar with that old cry. Panthir Math—where the present Metropolitan College Hostel stands—is still resonant with that old cry. Every town in Bengal remembers that old cry. Boycott the University, boycott Government schools and colleges. We tried the experiment. We failed. Why? Because India did not come to our help. We failed, because some of our own leaders could not make the necessary sacrifice that was needed of them (shame,

shame). Do not cry shame. Human nature is human nature—what is the good of crying shame. Know the fact, that is all. It failed because proprietors of private colleges who were also political leaders, would not give up their colleges. If the proprietors of private schools and colleges in 1906 and 1907 honestly, loyally had thrown themselves into the National Education Movement, I do not know what would have become of the fate of those buildings (The Calcutta University) now. But they withheld support. More than that; not only they would not give their own colleges but they came to control ours. They became members of the National Education Society. Perhaps we could not do without them, neither could we do with them (laughter). That was our tragedy. The National Education Movement failed in Bengal because India left us alone; because our leaders were not loyal to the call of the country; because our leaders left us and went at the back of the Government of Lord Minto and encouraged it to use the arm of repression to put down our legitimate national movement. We failed then owing to these reasons. But men rise to higher stages through their failures; and because we failed in 1907, there is no reason to fear that we shall fail also in 1920. The time has come when we must revive, reorganise in the same way, in the same spirit of self-sacrifice, in the same spirit of determination—we must revive our national education movement, because national education must form the foundation of withdrawing co-operation from the Government through

gradually withholding from Government service. The middle classes, the intellectuals of Bengal and elsewhere have no opening or very little opening outside the legal profession or the Government service now, and unless you create openings for them, unless you give the rising generation a different kind of education, different from what they have been receiving—an education that will fit them to earn their livelihood decently, honourably, better than they might be able to earn whether in the so called learned professions or in the service of the Government, you cannot expect them to withdraw from these. National Education will lay the foundation of the movement of Non-Co-operation stronger and deeper in the very life of the nation. National Education, therefore, is another positive movement not exactly of Non-Co-operation but as preparatory—specially preparatory—to the movement of Non-Co-operation.

NON-CO-OPERATION AND THE LEGAL PROFESSION.

Then as regard to law. As I have said that the police and the army discharge the primary functions of the Government, so do the Courts of Justice. You cannot withdraw your co-operation from these Courts any more than you can do from the police or the army. But here also what you can do, is this. You can carry on a propaganda among the people not to come to these courts unless they are forced by the law of the land to do so. Criminal cases are divided into two classes—cognisable and

non-cognisable. There are some offences of which cognizance can be taken and must be taken by the police only. There are other offences of which the police need not take cognizance,—offences that are taken to the criminal courts by the people themselves. You can induce them not to take petty cases of assault or defamation and cases that fall under the term 'non-cognizable' to the law courts. You can also ask them not to take small cases to the civil courts. On the other hand, you can organise Arbitration Panchayets or Arbitration Courts for the settlement of these petty disputes. Outside this limit, you cannot withdraw your co-operation from the Courts of Justice. But if you can reduce criminal courts only to take cognizance of serious offences, you will very largely weaken the hold of criminal administration over the people, and the lawyers then, as a matter of necessity, finding no brief (laughter) and no client, will have to take to other works. And as regards civil cases, you can create such a powerful public opinion in the country that those who take their civil cases to the British courts will be regarded as almost social outcasts. Can you do it? It is not so easy to ask the lawyers to give up their practice. And even if some do, cases will not cease to go to the law courts. Litigants will not cease to flock to the courts. You must remove the cause of litigation and the number of litigants. Establish your own Arbitration Panchayets and your Arbitration Courts and then as a necessary

consequence of these things, the lawyers will have to withdraw co-operation from the present Administration.

NON-CO-OPERATION AS A CONSCIENCE MOVEMENT.

Then again, with regard to the Khilafat. I have so long considered the question from the political standpoint only. But if a man feels that his conscience demands, his religion demands that he should have nothing to do with the present Bureaucratic Government, in this I have nothing to say to him and it is because he must follow the dictate of his conscience. If my Moslem friends believe that it is against their conscience, it is against their religion to co-operate with a Government that has hurt their religion, the Government which has acted as an enemy towards the Khilafat; if my Moslem friends think that it is their religious duty to refuse co-operation with the Government, then they must do so. There is no consideration here of primary or secondary functions of Government; there is no consideration here of so far and no further (cheers). Because conscience puts no limit to a man's obligations. If my conscience demands that I should jump from here to this Square (College Square), I must do it. I cannot measure the strength of my legs then. Conscience is a tyrant. And so far as my Mahomedan friends are concerned, if they believe that their conscience calls for absolute withdrawal of co-operation from the present Government, because they look upon this Government as the

enemy of the Khilafat, they must do it. If anybody else's conscience demands that because of the Punjab outrages and other things he cannot co-operate in any form, in any matter, or in any degree with the Government, that is a matter which I must leave to every man's honesty—I must leave it to his own conscience. But so far as the political aspect of this question is concerned, so far as the constitutional issue involved in this question is concerned, so far as national issues are concerned, I think we must discriminate, in the way in which I have indicated, between the primary and secondary functions of Government and co-operate to the extent that we must do so in regard to the primary functions, but refuse to co-operate in regard to the secondary functions.

REAL ENEMIES OF THE KHILAFAT.

But with regard even to my Mahomedan friends, I have to ask one question here. Who are the enemies of the Khilafat? Lord Chelmsford?—no. His Exceleency says, he is not—poor man he cannot (laughter). Who are the real enemies of the Khilafat then? Not the British Bureaucracy in India. Then who brought about the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire? It is the British plutocrat not the British Bureaucrats in India—it is the British plutocrats who are after the oil fields of Mosul, who are after the rich resources of

Mesopotamia—the men who are after the economic exploitation of the of the Middle East. They are the real enemies of the Khilafat. The Government here is a helpless tool, in the hands of the Anglo-Indian plutocrats. The Government in London also is a tool in the hands of British plutocrats. It is the capitalist who pulls the strings and Lloyd George jumps (hear, hear) ; it is the capitalist who pulls the strings and M. Millerand dances ; it is the capitalist who pulls the strings all the world over for the economic exploitation of weaker peoples and unprotected territories. The Turkish Empire has come to its present miserable condition owing to the greed of the British and French and Italian capitalists. They are the real enemies of the Khilafat,—not Lord Chelmsford—not the British Government in India. My dear Mahomedan friends, this is the truth. The real enemies of your Khilafat are the plutocrats, and why do you like to withdraw co-operation from the poor Bureaucrats leaving the plutocrats in their palaces ? Withdraw your co-operation from every mill that is working here (hear, hear)—those that are worked in this country by foreign capital. Go among the masses and ask them to see that the religion of the Prophet forbids association with the enemies of Islam. In cooking for them, are they not associating with the enemies of Islam ? In blacking their shoes, in driving their coaches, are not they assisting the enemies of Islam ? You would ask the police to

give up their service—you would ask the army to to give up their service ; why do you look far ; while the weapon, the remedy is near at hand (hear, hear)—in the very hollow of your hand ? Ask them, if you are honest, if you believe that no faithful Mussalman ought to associate with the enemies of the Khilafat—ask them to do this. The enemies of the Khilafat are the plutocrats ; they are those who are exploiting your labour, your materials for their profit in this country ; they are those who are making arrangements for exploiting the labour and resources of Mosul and Mesopotamia for their profit ; they are the real enemies of Islam—the big British capitalist combines that have egged on the British Cabinet in this matter of peace treaty with Turkey. These plutocrats—British, French and Italian—they are a multitudinous race, they have many forms and many appearances. They are like the octopus and it is they who are the enemies of Islam ; it is they who have brought this misery upon Islam ; it is they who have arranged for the spoliation of Mesopotamia and Mosul ; it is they who are the cause of the deprivation of the liberties of Asia Minor, Syria and Palestine—and you ought to withdraw your co-operation from them.

Poor Government—I pity the Government. They have to pay for the sins of many people ; poor Lord Chelmsford is paying for the sins of the British plutocrats ; Lloyd George is paying for the sins of the British plutocrats. Withdraw all co-operation

from the British plutocrats, and if you do this I will join with you (cheers). Because the withdrawal of economic co operation with the exploiters of the natural resources of our country and our cheap labour—is a duty which the love of our country, the love of humanity imposes upon me and you, upon every Indian, irrespective of whether he is a Mahomedan or a Hindu. Therefore, I say, it is not merely a political need—it is more economic than political. And we must strike at the economic exploitation of the country and, in doing so, Swadeshi and Boycott must be our powerful weapon in this campaign of Non-Co-operation. We tried it in Bengal 13 years ago. We failed. But we achieved something also. The new spirit in India, we thank God, is not altogether without indebtedness to the Swadeshi and Boycott Movement in Bengal. Then Bengal stood alone. Now India is at your back. Fear not, because India is at your back. Take up Boycott, take up Swadeshi—boycott in the widest sense of the term, boycott not of goods but of association also—economic association, commercial association and trade association. If we do it, I think we shall be able to win our freedom to which God has called us, much more easily and within much shorter time than you seem to think now. Lord Chelmsford has said—it is the most foolish of all things. Well, well, His Excellency has a right to say anything he pleases. But whether it is the most foolish of all foolish things or the wisest of the most wise things will be seen. And it

will depend, whether it is to be foolish or wise, upon your determination, upon your spirit of self-sacrifice and upon your strength. The issue before you is clear. Enthusiasm combined with discrimination, prudence combined with courage—devotion to duty and to country—if these things come, I have no doubt, that what is characterised as the most foolish of all foolish things will turn the wisdom of the wise, by the will of God, into folly and consternation.

NON-CO-OPERATION AND THE KHILAFAT.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I have been speaking for the last three or four days on Non-Co-operation and although I thought that what I told you on the last occasion was all that had to be said, it seemed to me, on second thought, that we might profitably consider in a special lecture the question of the Khilafat in regard to Non-Co-operation.

EGYPTIAN INDEPENDENCE.

Since then, however, an important news has come to this country which may not be without its reference to the question that we are considering, viz. the Khilafat and Non-Co operation and also to the ideal and the objective that we have in view. That news is the proposal to form a Treaty of Alliance between Great Britain and Egypt—a treaty by which Great Britain agrees to recognise Egyptian independence (loud and continued cheers). Now, gentlemen, the question that you and I have to consider is this. Has this new development in British Imperialist policy any reference to our own struggle for national emancipation? That is a very natural question that arises in our mind when we read the news that Lord Milner and the Egyptian Mission headed by Zaghlul Pasha have agreed to a certain understanding for the settlement of the Egyptian question.

Hitherto we have been used to link Egypt and India together in our struggle for political emancipation in the British Empire. Years ago, 12 years ago, 11 years ago strictly speaking, a very important article appeared in the "Times" newspaper, on the 24th of May 1909, in its Empire Day Supplement. In that article it indicated a certain line of policy of British Imperialism. Those who read between the lines could at once see the inspiration of Lord Milner behind that important article. In that article the "Times" said that the British Empire was not one but really two, combined into one. One was the self-governing Empire including Great Britain and the Dominions, the other was the depending or dependent Empire, including the Crown Colonies, the Protectorates and India. Egypt and India and the Crown Colonies went together to constitute the dependent Empire, while Great Britain, Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand—all these White Dominions of the Empire constituted the self-governing Empire, and the self-governing Empire was also the governing Empire either at present or was meant to be in future in regard to the dependent Empire. That was the "Times" policy. The "Times" said that these, the depending Empire and the self-governing Empire, are essential each to the other and the depending Empire wants the self-governing Empire to guide it, to educate it, to train it, to protect it, to develop its resources and thereby lead it to a higher state of

civilisation. That was the place of the depending Empire. The depending Empire meant Egypt and India, and Egypt and India offered a ground for the cultivation of the altruistic sentiment of British Imperialism for the uplift of men. And as regards the self-governing Empire, they are bound together by ties of common language, they are bound together by common civilisation, they are bound together by common inspiration to work together for the up-lift and regeneration of the depending Empire. That was in 1909. This idea of dual Empire runs through everything that has been done during the last ten years in India including the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms in regard to India. This idea runs through it, namely, that they are to uplift us, they are to guide us, they are to train us, they are to protect us, they are to develop us, they are to civilise us and gradually they are to help us to a high state even of political existence. This idea runs through the whole policy of Egypt and India. Now, suddenly we find that the British have recognised or are prepared to recognise, the independence of the Egyptians. Now this is 1920. In 1916, in the summer of that year, just a little more or less than four years ago, Lord Milner himself in his address to the representatives of the Dominions Parliaments, representatives of Canada, Australia and South Africa who had come to England in the summer of that year,—Lord Milner addressing these Dominions representatives then on a visit to England, said, when he was discussing the problem of Imperial reconstruction and reconstitution

of the Empire, that "it would needlessly complicate the task immediately before them" mark every word—"it would needlessly complicate the task before them" What is the task? The, task is "that of devising a means by which the Dominions can share with the United Kingdom in the supreme control of the Empire." Now, that was the policy of British Imperialism in 1916. At present Great Britain controls the policy of the Empire—it is the British Cabinet and the British Parliament which practically direct the policy of the Empire with regard to the Dependencies, the Protectorates and the Crown Colonies; and Lord Milner said that the task before them is of devising means by which the Dominions could share with the United Kingdom in the supreme control of the Empire. It would needlessly complicate their task "if they were to try and deal at the same time with the future of India where self-government is in its infancy or with those of the Dependencies in which it exists in various degrees or does not exist at all." In 1916 Lord Milner said that he cannot discuss this question of the future of India or of the other Dependencies—evidently including Egypt also. To say that, "is not to deny, however, that a day may come when having proved themselves capable of local autonomy, some or all of them will be entitled to representation in the Imperial Parliament. But the time at which and the extent to which such representation should be accorded to them are quite unforeseeable at present and to give it to them, while local self-government is still in its rudimentary stage, would be putting the

cart before the horse." Now, you see clearly—in 1916 his lordship, Lord Milner was not prepared to pay any thought to the problem of the political future, inside the British Empire, either of India or of the other Dependencies including Egypt. During the war and even before the war we had been told repeatedly that Egypt was not fit to govern herself. In 1910-11 when I was in England, I met Egyptian Nationalists—leaders of the Egyptian National Movement and they were then more or less exiles from their own homes, because of the repressive measures of Lord Cromer and the Government there. During the war we knew, though we heard very little of the internal condition of Egypt,—but it is generally known that during the war Egypt was practically converted into a military garrison. Last year, this time when I was going to England, I tried to land in Egypt, but I could not land even in Suez because it was under military law and a permit from the Officer Commanding had to be got, before any foreigner, whether Indian or anybody else were allowed to land in Suez or any other part of the Egyptian territory. That was last year. What has happened since then? Have the Egyptians developed over-night, by some magical influence (laughter) the powers of self-government? How have they worked this miracle in the course of a few weeks? Because it was fairly well known even when this Milner Mission went to Egypt that they were not there with a view to grant or recognise Egyptian independence, but to do something

like the Montagu Reform scheme in Egypt with a view to somewhat settle the Egyptian problem. And the question that strikes me and that ought to strike every intelligent student of current events is this—what has happened during the last few weeks or few months to lead British statemanship to offer this "Treaty of Alliance" to Egypt? That is the first question. Now, Sir, it seems to me that the reason that may have led to this sudden development of wisdom in British Imperialist brain, is to be found in the development of new situations in Turkey, in Asia Minor and elsewhere along with a tremendous upheaval in Egypt itself. But we are just now more concerned with the developments outside Egypt than in that country. Just cast your eyes on the map of Egypt in relation to Turkey, just think where Egypt is and where is Turkey. Egypt holds the rear of Turkey practically. There is Greece between and if Egypt sowed, worked mischief in her borders, she might create serious complications in the Græcian Islands and in the southern parts of Turkey—in Asia Minor, in Arabia and also in the newly acquired territories of Great Britain in Africa itself. Egyptain unrest might spread to those regions that have come under the control of the British as a result of their victory in the last war. Egyptain unrest, if it grows violent, may make the position of Great Britain, I will not say insecure, but a little inconvenient, even in the straits of Bosphoros ; and if Egyptain unrest continues, the Khilafat

movement in India may lend strength to that unrest in Egypt and the Egyptian unrest may lend strength to the Khilafat movement and the Moslem sentiment in India for freedom and autonomy. (cheers). Now it is politic, it is wise always to take care of your rear-guard, to protect your back when you are fighting your enemies. Secondly, it is of the utmost importance and it is the height of wisdom when you are fighting a number of enemies, to draw one or two away from the enemies camp on to your side, so that by drawing him away you may be able at once to weaken your opponents and strengthen yourself. That seems to me—I am rather an evil-minded person—clearly to be the policy that has prompted this measure of generous wisdom of British statemanship.

INDIA AND EGYPTIAN INDEPENDENCE.

But how does it affect us? That it is likely—they think not we—to weaken not only our Khilafat movement itself, but by withdrawing the sympathy and support of the Egyptian Mahomedans from what was hitherto our common cause, it may weaken the struggle for India's freedom. It may—I do not say it will, because God confounds always the wisest among men even in their very wisdom. So I do not say it will, but it may. But there is another consideration with regard to this. You and I have been thinking for many years past of working out our freedom inside the federation of the

British Empire. Imperial Federation has been for the last 10 or 12 years the sheet-anchor of our hope for national freedom. We thought that the day was coming when Great Britain would have to reconstitute her Empire upon a federal basis and when she started this work of Imperial reconstruction or reconstitution, upon a federal basis, she would be forced to admit India and Egypt and other Dependencies to an equal place with the White Dominions and the United Kingdom, in this Imperial Federation. We were all looking forward to it and because we were dreaming of this Imperial Federation we gave up the very thought of sovereign, isolated independence for India. I myself had been seeing the vision of an Imperial Federation which would mediate between nationalism and universal humanity in the course of modern historic evolution. I was looking forward to such a development of the Imperial policy which would convert the present British Empire into something like the United States of every nationality, of every principality, of every country inside the British Empire—absolutely free in regard to their own affairs but combined with the representatives of the other members of the Empire for the common governance of the Empire—for the regulation of the common policy of the Empire. That was the ideal which was leading us on and that ideal led us to give up our demand for sovereign national independence and prefer the somewhat limited freedom of a federal union. But if Egypt has got her

independence—if Great Britain has been forced to to recognise the independence of Egypt, the question before you and me to-day is: is not our vision of an Imperial federation a dream, a delusion and a snare? (cheers). That is the first question that arises in our mind. Because, if British Imperialism had any serious idea of working out a federal constitution in the Empire, it would not have rushed with almost indecent haste to grant sovereign independence to Egypt.

RE-CONSIDERATION OF OUR IDEAL AND OBJECTIVE.

Therefore it seems, my dear friends, that the time has come when we must reconsider our own position, reconsider the Congress creed itself reconsider whether we shall not put forward the same thing on behalf of India which British statemanship has offered to Egypt (hear hear). And I say it for this reason. As I have repeatedly said, I would prefer a Federal Union with the other members of the present British Empire, to Sovereign Independence. But this new Egyptian policy indicates that there is little hope of the present day British Imperialists working out this Federation in time to enable us to win our freedom before we die as a race. Therefore I say every Congressman and every politically minded Indian—be he a Hindu or a Mahomedan—will have to seriously reconsider now whether it is not necessary, in view of the latest developement in Imperial policy indicated by the results

of the conference between the Milner Mission and the Egyptian Mission headed by Zaghul Pasha—whether in view of this development—it is not our duty as much to ourselves as to the Empire and to the whole of humanity to restate our ideal and objective, whether we shall not put forth the same demand for independence which has been recognised by British statesmanship in the case of Egypt. (hear. hear).

NON-CO-OPERATION AND THE NEW IDEAL.

Now, gentlemen, in putting forth this demand—in fighting for our freedom, we shall have to adopt practically the same measures which we have been discussing during the last 4 or 5 days, viz. Non-Co-operation. I do not know what effect this Egyptian settlement will have upon the Khilafat movement in India, upon the Khilafat sentiment in India,—but it seems to me that we cannot allow this diplomatic move on the part of British statesmanship to any way weaken or demoralise the Khilafat movement in India. As regards the Khilafat movement we must understand one thing. We, who are non-Mahomedans must understand one thing, viz. that though the Khilafat question is a religious question with our Mahomedan friends, it is no less a vital political question with us. I support the Khilafat movement (hear, hear) though not on sentimental grounds. I honour sentiment—I sympathise with my Mahomedan friends in the hour of their trouble—I fully sympathise with them in their attempt to secure and maintain the integrity of their

religion which is bound up organically with integrity of the Khilafat (hear, hear). As the Roman Catholic religion is bound up organically with the Catholic Church, so Islam is with the Khilafat. As Bhudhistic piety is bound up with the Sangha, so is Islam with the Islamic Brotherhood. There is no Islam apart from the Islamic brotherhood or fraternity and they are organically bound up together like thought and its expression,—like the soul and the body. Islam is the soul and Islamic fraternity is the body of that soul and the Islamic Fraternity is symbolised in the institution of the Khilafat. If the Khilafat goes the symbol or the instrument of the common life of Islam goes, and if the symbol or the instrument of the common life of Islam goes, Islam cannot live long. That is the view that I take of the Khilafat movement and I sympathise fully with the struggle of my Mahomedan brethren for the maintenance of the purity, as they understand it, the integrity as they believe it, of their own religion. I sympathised with the struggle of the Hugenots—we sympathised with the struggle of the French Hugenots. When we read of the story of the fight for religious freedom, when we read of the story of the fight for the conscience of the French Hugenots, we are thrilled with a sympathy for them. Are not we? When we read the story of the struggle for the religious freedom of the British Puritans, do we not feel a thrill in our own hearts, at the bravery, at the devotion to truth, at the loyalty to conscience and the courage and sacrifice of the Puritan Christians. Yet

I am not a Higeonot,—I am not a Christian.—simply an ordinary man, a sensitive human being, one who holds every religion in reverence, who believes that every religion is a revelation of God in its own place and in its own time to those who follow it.

PARTIES OF THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT.

We, who believe like this, cannot be indifferent to the woes of our Mahomedan friends when they see and believe that their religion is being hurt by British Imperialism and European Imperialism. I sympathise with them not on sentimental grounds—that is a high ground. Mere sympathy would not lead me to identify myself with the Khilafat movement. It would be necessary to have something else; and I identify myself with this movement not on sentimental grounds but for high political reasons. I recognise and I want every Hindu to recognise this that the future of India not of the Mahomedans only but of the Hindus as well, the future and freedom of the Indian nation, depend almost entirely upon the preservation of the integrity and the independence of the Turkish Empire (hear, hear). Because if Turkey goes,—it is practically gone, for the time being, I hope Persia will go. Persia is going. If Persia goes, Afghanisthan will not be able to long retain its independent position, And if Turkey goes, Persia goes, Afghanisthan goes, then what happens? From San Francisco to the borders of China, as I said on another occasion, the whole of the extensive

region, one-third—more than one-third, of Asia along with Africa, come under direct Christian influence. That is a danger to Asia—that is a danger to the Asiatic culture as much as it is to Islam—that is a danger to India. These Mahomedan States have been a bulwark of Indian freedom. Every Independent State in the neighbourhood of a despotic government works for the weakening of that despotism, because a despot always stands in fear of his rival. But if all these independent States are wiped off from the face of the Asiatic map the result will be an increase in the despotism—in the greed of capitalist Military Imperialism of Europe. Therefore, I want the Khilafat to remain—I want Persia and Afghanistan to remain. And on these political grounds I not only sympathise with the Khilafat movement, I identify myself as an Indian nationalist wholeheartedly with it. With me the Khilafat is a political question—it is not a question of conscience. With my Mahomedan friends it is a question of conscience added to a political question. The Mahomedans also, now at any rate, have recognised their place in the scheme of Indian Nationalism. Mahomedans, also, are recognised as Nationalists. And as Nationalists they have a political interest in the preservation of the integrity and independence of the Khilafat. As Mahomedans they have a religious interest in the preservation of the independence and integrity of the Khilafat. And we who are non-Mahomedans identify ourselves with this Mahomedan movement

from clearly, distinctly political reasons. Let there be no mistake about it. We support the Khilafat on political grounds and I have explained those grounds to you.

Now the question comes—the Khilafat movement with regard to Non-Co-operation: How far can we go with the Khilafat in this matter. I have already indicated to you that the Central Khilafat Committee have practically declared though, more or less progressively, for absolute Non-Co-operation. The Central Khilafat Committee have declared, for instance, for the withdrawal of candidature from the new councils. Here I cannot follow them. They have also called for other steps of Non-Co-operation. As I told you the other day our Non-Co-operation as a constitutional movement must be confined within Constitutional limits. Non-Co-operation must not strike at those functions of the State which are primary functions. Non-Co-operation must help the preservation of the State and at the same time fight the autocracy of the Government. That is our policy. But with regard to the Khilafat, as I told you the other day, when it is a question of conscience, constitutional considerations cannot enter into it. If my conscience demands to do anything—if my conscience demands a thing which is against the constitution of the Government, my conscience must be obeyed though Governments may fall (hear, hear). “Fiat Justitia ruet cœlum” let justice reign though heavens should fall—let conscience

reign though Governments fall (hear, hear). Therefore so far as it is a question of conscience we must accept what the conscience of the Mahomedans demands and must lend our moral support to that movement of conscientious Non-Co-operation even if it oversteps the limits of constitutional agitation, without informing the rights and libertees of other people, though we may not ourselves practically follow or join it. That is our position in regard to the Khilafat Non-Co-operation

With regard to the boycotting of the new councils the question with the Khilafat Committee is a question of conscience. They say that they cannot co-operate in any shape or form with a Government which has acted in the way that this Government has done in regard to the Khilafat. That is their position. And I repeat once more, that position being based on conscience I have nothing to say about it. But with me, Non-Co-operation is not a question of conscience—it is with me, as a Non-Mahomedan, a question of policy. It is a means to an end and with me the question is what is the end.

OBJECTIVE OF NON-CO-OPERATION.

What is the objective of our Non-Co-operation movement. So far as the conscientious non-co-operator is concerned Non-Co-operation itself is an end. He has not to consider results, because his conscience demands that he should withdraw co-

operation from the Government and he must obey his conscience whatever may be the consequences either to himself or to others. So far as Mahomedans are concerned, there is no question of the object—there is no question of the end—the end is the obedience to one's conscience. But with us—who are non-Mahomedans—who are Non-Co-operators not on conscientious grounds but on political grounds—with us the question is what is the object of Non-Co-operation? Why do we start this campaign of Non-Co-operation? Our object is to weaken—to paralyse, more or less, the administration. That is the object of all passive resistance. To bring such irresistible pressure upon the administrative machinery that it will either have to stop working or surrender itself to the will of the people (hear, hear). That is the object of Non-Co-operation, either to stop the working of the administrative machinery or to force those who control the machinery to surrender themselves to the will of the people. And every means, every proposal in regard to Non-Co-operation we must judge by its end. We are asked to give up honorary titles and offices and we judge of it by this means,— will it weaken the Administration? I say, yes, not materially but morally and that is far more important than materially weakening the Government. The Government rules in the way that it rules us as now, because of our slavish mentality. We are a race of slaves. The best among us are slaves in their minds

(shame, shame). There is no shame, my friends, because water never rises above its level, and when you have been a nation of slaves for so many hundreds of years the national mind cannot easily, simply by a few words from an orator, cure itself of its inherent slave nature. The slave mentality is there. You see it every day in your newspapers. Your thought-leaders do not think courageously. Your politicians dare not handle public questions with courage. Your statesmen, if there be any, are statesmen only in compromising (laughter). That is the quality of your statesmanship—timid and cowardly. That is the character of the whole nation and this slave mentality is the real root of our present servitude. And by declaring withdrawal of co-operation from the Government, by giving up all honorary titles, decorations and honorary offices, we remove the slave mentality of the people, we free the mind of the people. Therefore, it is part of the scheme of Non-Co operation. By asking the police not to go beyond their legitimate duties but to refuse to obey their superior officers when they order them, not to preserve peace but to disturb peace, when they order them to act as provocative agents, when they order them directly or indirectly to cook conspiracies, when they order them to spy on honest citizens, when they order them to break peaceful processions and gatherings—by asking them to refuse to obey these, we create a moral force in the community. The policemen ought to be trained—ought to be asked, and if they do not

obey your commands, you ought to organise social disciplinary measures so that the policeman who outrages your liberties, the policeman who goes beyond his legitimate functions—that policeman may find his reward in Government pay and pension for himself and his people, but he shall find no help, no co-operation in his buying and selling, not in marrying and giving in marriage, from the members of his society. That is Non-Co-operation with regard to the police. And the same thing might be done with regard to others also. With regard to all these we reach our objective by weakening the administration. In regard to the withdrawal of co-operation from the capitalist exploiters of our economic resources and our cheap labour, we strike at the root of our servitude, because the Government of India is not merely an administration—administration and exploitation, as Lord Curzon reminded us many years ago, are parts of the same duty in the Government of India. They are joined together like the Siamese twins—the exploiter and the administrator. So if you hurt the exploiter you weaken the administration, because the administration is for exploitation and exploitation helps the administration. Here also in withdrawing co-operation from the exploitation of our raw materials, our natural resources and our labour by foreign capitalists, you weaken the Government. You paralyse to a certain extent the instruments of the present autocratic and irresponsible administration in the country.

COUNCIL ELECTIONS.

With regard to the Councils, the question is—by keeping yourself outside the Councils, by refusing to allow yourself to be elected to the Councils, will help to weaken the administration? I have told you in the course of these Lectures that the Montagu Reform Act will not secure your freedom and the sooner that Act is amended the better it is for you and me. But will you be able to compel the amendment of this Act along your own lines by withdrawing yourselves from the Councils? You keep yourselves out from the Councils and accommodating politicians will have an easy walk over to the seats in the Councils (laughter) and being there in the Councils they will support the Ministers and the Ministers will support them, and they will be all a friendly family circle (laughter). The whole machinery will go on as smoothly as the heart of Mr. Montagu might desire. Lord Chelmsford has been pleased to appeal for co-operation. 'You have got here a wonderful machinery for working out your salvation. Come, put your shoulders to the wheel of this machinery and work it and your freedom will be yours'. That is Lord Chelmsford's appeal. We know that this Act will not give us our freedom—not even by an inch or a jot or tittle. We know that if we are to get freedom, if we are to get National Independence if we are to have our independence recognised by Great

Britain as an ally of the British Empire like Egypt, we shall have to kill this Act—we shall have to create deadlocks in the operation of this Act, so that the Government will be compelled to amend it before the ten-year period is over. That is our policy or that ought to be our policy. Therefore, we cannot boycott these new Councils as a part of our campaign of Non-Co-operation. It has been said that Parliamentary Government thrives on opposition. Yes, but your Government is not a Parliamentary Government, it is the shadow of Parliamentary Government, it is camouflage of Parliamentary Government. A merely legislative council does not constitute parliamentary Government. The soul of Parliamentary Government is the Cabinet system. Do you understand what the Cabinet system is? That is, the Executive is formed by the party which is in the majority in the legislature and this party which is in the majority supplies the executive Government to-day, while those who are in the Opposition try to fight this party and try to get their place to-morrow. Those who are in the Opposition to-day go to the office to-morrow and therefore opposition in the parliamentary system is like the healthy criticism in your schools and colleges. Healthy criticism strengthens the roots of your knowledge, so parliamentary opposition strengthens the roots of the system of parliamentary administration. It is only in this sense that parliamentary Government thrives on opposition, is true. But when we

are in the council, and we offer opposition to the executive Government we have no chance of replacing them ourselves. We shall be offering opposition continuously, permanently, perpetually until that Government falls to pieces—until the whole system is broken up and is replaced by a more democratic—by a truly honest parliamentary system. That is it. Therefore opposition will destroy the present camouflage and the present semblance, the present deceitful appearance of parliamentary Government in India. And by breaking it down we shall make room for building up a truly honest and democratic system of Government in our country (hear. hear). Therefore, I say the dictum that parliamentary Government thrives on opposition is inapplicable to India because ours is not a parliamentary Government. Therefore our policy in regard to the council must be this. As Non-Co-operators we shall go to the council and there refuse to Co-operate with the executive Government. We shall refuse to help them. Under the new law, the budget will have to be passed by the provincial legislative council. If we have a majority in the council we shall refuse to pass the budget. Under the present provincial constitution every legislation must be passed by the council. If we have a majority in the council we shall refuse to pass official legislation and by refusing to pass the legislation—by refusing to pass the budget we shall force the Governor to have recourse to

his extraordinary power under the new Act by which he is authorised to reinstate the budget even if it be thrown away by the legislature. That is we shall bring out the autocracy which lies hidden under the present system, and if in two successive sessions we can force the Governor to reinstate the budget against the decision of the legislature—if we force the provincial Governor to pass any law that he wants against the wishes of the legislature—we will create such a wild hue and cry in the country—such a wide wave against this autocracy that England will be forced to amend this Act. And if it does not, there will be a deadlock in the administration. Therefore I say, our campaign of Non-Co-operation, not being based upon conscience, but being based upon policy, our Non-Co-operation having for its object the weakening of the administration, the paralysis of certain departments of the Government, with a view to force it to surrender itself to the popular will, we cannot boycott these councils. But on the contrary, we ought to send only such men to the council who will go there to organise a powerful opposition there and refuse to Co-operate with the ministers or with the executive Government or any body else (hear, hear). Non-co-operation in regard to the councils must be that.

LAST APPEAL.

Now, my friends, I must close and before I close, I want to make a last appeal—one to the

Government and one to you. To the Government my appeal is—we have been repeatedly told that this Non-co-operation movement conceals a great danger to the peace and order in the country. I do not believe that there is any danger of the disturbance of peace in this Non-Co-operation movement. There is no danger to it in any case as long as Mahatma Gandhi (loud cheers) is at the helm of it. He is for Non-violence and so far, he has restrained the otherwise irritable and inflammable materials inside the Khilafat movement. The presence of the Hindus and their association with it, are a guarantee for the preservation of peace and order in that movement. If we had not joined the movement it would have gone on its own way and we fear—we tremble to think, how it would have gone on. It is the restraining influence of Mahatma Gandhi—it is the restraining influence of Indian Nationalists who are moved by political foresight and statesmanly motive in throwing themselves into this movement—that has restrained this movement within constitutional limits up till now. We want to keep it so and we shall keep it so. The danger is in those provocative actions and agencies of the Government which may at any time throw a lighted match into this powder magazine. It is a powder magazine—but as long as we have got the key to this magazine and you do not come to interfere with this magazine—as along as you do not create friction at the door of it—as along as you do

not employ police informers and approvers and agents to create disturbance in it, this Khilafat movement, so long, God willing, will remain peaceful (cheers). Therefore my appeal to the Government is, to stay their hand. Mr. Montagu has raised his stick (laugh). It does not hurt any body. We also know how to raise our stick (laughter). He has raised his stick in parliament. The Khilafat and the whole of Nationalist India have raised their stick in this Non-Co-operation. So I donot mind his raising the big stick. I have noticed the threat in Lord Chelmsford's last opening speech before the council session in Simla. But I would ask his Excellency to seriously consider what the effect of any repressive measure will be, not upon the Khilafat itself but upon the whole country. We are pledged—every one of us who has any influence over this movement and is religiously pledged—Mahatma Gandhi is pledged—Mr. Shaukat Ali (cheers) is pledged and all the leaders of the Khilafat committee—every one is pledged—to keep this movement strictly within constitutional, lawful and peaceful limits. And as long as they keep themselves within these limits they ought to have the fullest freedom of thought, of speech, of association, of movement—of organising themselves for a constitutional fight. Their conscience must be respected and anything that their conscience demands ought not to be interefered with. We shall try, we who are not Mahomedans but who have more or less thrown

ourselves into the Khilafat agitation directly or indirectly—we shall try, God willing, our level best to restrain the movement within lawful, peaceful limits and even within constitutional limits, so far as their conscience will allow. But their conscience does not demand violence, therefore we are perfectly sure if Government will restrain itself, if the Government will restrain the enthusiasm of our C. I. D.—if the Government will restrain its hands, then we are confident that this movement will be kept within absolutely peaceful limits. But although speaking for myself and for those who have approached the question from the political point of view, although we may not accept the whole programme of Mahatma Gandhi and the Khilafat Committee on Non-Co-operation—although we may differ from them now in regard to the actual carrying out of the whole programme, let the Government know this, that we shall try so far as it lies in our power to lend moral support to this movement of conscience of the Mahomedan members of our community, and let the Government know this also that so far as it lies in our power, although we do not accept Mahatma Gandhi's full programme to-day on reasonable and political and constitutional grounds, if repression should come upon Mahatma Gandhi—if the hand of repression should be laid upon the Khilafat movement it will be our duty as men—as citizen—as Indian nationalists it will be our duty

to accept the whole programme of the Khilafat movement. And I, for one, should very much like the Special Congress whatever other decision it may come to in regard to the details of this Non-Co-operation programme ; whether it accepts Mahatma Gandhi's programme or not, one thing ought to be made clear, viz. that if repression comes upon those who are trying to follow this programme at the dictate of their conscience, the united opinion of India, the united heart of India—the united manhood of India—the united head and the united arm of India (cheers) will be placed at the service of the Khilafat Committee. We will share their sufferings (hear, hear)—we will share their endeavours—we will take part in their fight and we will take the consequences upon ourselves (hear, hear). We will not allow the Government again to divide our house as they divided during the Swadeshi agitation days in Bengal. We will not allow the Government to pat us on the back and say 'O', you are good boys, you are constitutional ; they are bad boys we shall punish them, No my master my paternal Government : (laughter.) If you punish my brother, I will put my back between his back and your lash (hear, hear). That ought to be the determination of every Indian at this moment. This is a mementous decision which the Congress ought to take up in the Special Session (hear, hear.). There should be left no doubt in the minds of the Government, viz. that Congress will support

the programme of the Khilafat Committee and throw itself bodily and accept the whole programme of Mahatma Gandhi and will call upon the country to accept and carry it out, should the Government try its hand of repression upon him and upon the Khilafat (hear, hear). I hope, my dear friends, those of you who are delegates, who are members of the Congress, will kindly consider these my submissions, and I hope when the day comes you will commit yourself and compel the Congress to commit itself to this policy, viz. that if repression comes we shall accept and call upon the country to accept the whole of the programme of Mr. Gandhi and the Khilafat Committee. Do help us God. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

